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## IWW Branches & Local/Regional Contacts

### Asia

#### Taiwan

Taiwan IWW: c/o David Temple,  
4 Floor, No. 3, Ln. 67, Shujing St.,  
Beitun Dist., Taichung City 40641  
Taiwan. 098-937-7029. taiw-  
iww@gmail.com

#### Australia

New South Wales  
Sydney GMB: IWW-Sydney-gmb@  
iww.org.au

### Queensland

Brisbane GMB: P.O. Box 5842, West  
End, Qld 4101. Asger, del., hap-  
pyanarchy@riseup.net

### Victoria

Melbourne GMB: P.O. Box 145,  
Moreland, VIC 3058. melbourne-  
wobblies@gmail.com

### Canada

IWW Canadian Regional Organizing  
Committee (CANROC): c/o Toronto  
GMB, P.O. Box 45 Toronto P Toronto  
ON, M5S 2S6. iww@iww.ca

### Alberta

Edmonton GMB: P.O. Box 4197,  
T6E 4T2. edmontongmb@iww.org,  
edmonton.iww.ca

### British Columbia

Vancouver GMB: IWW Vancouver,  
c/o Spartacus Books, 3378 Findlay  
Street, V5N 4E7. contact@vancou-  
ver.iww.com. www.vancouver.iww.  
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Vancouver Island GMB: Box 297 St.  
A, Nanaimo BC, V9R 5K3. iwwvi@  
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### Manitoba

Winnipeg GMB: IWW, c/o WORC,  
P.O. Box 1, R3C 2G1. 204-299-5042,  
winnipeg.iww@hotmail.com

### New Brunswick

Fredericton: fredericton.iww.  
wordpress.com

### Ontario

Ottawa-Outaouais GMB & GDC Local  
6: 1106 Wellington St., P.O. Box  
36042, Ottawa, K1Y 4V3. ott-out@  
iww.org, gdc@ottawaiww.org

Ottawa Panhandlers Union:  
Raymond Loomer, Interim delegate,  
raymond747@hotmail.com

Peterborough: c/o PCAP 393 Water  
St. #17, K9H 3L7, 705-749-9694.  
Sean Carleton, del., 705-775-0663,  
sean.carleton@iww.org

Toronto GMB: P.O. Box 45, Toronto P,  
M5S 2S6. 647-741-4988. toronto@  
iww.org, www.torontoiww.org

Whindsor GMB: c/o WWAC, 328 Pelis-  
sier St. N9A 4K7. 519-564-8036.  
windsor.iww@gmail.com. http://  
windsor.iww.wordpress.com

### Quebec

Montreal GMB: cp 60124, Montréal,  
QC, H2J 4E1. 514-268-3394. hnw-  
quebec@riseup.net

### Europe

European Regional Administration  
(ERA): P.O. Box 7593, Glasgow  
G4 2EX. www.iww.org.uk. 0800  
998 9149

ERA Organisation Contacts  
Access Facilitator: Sue Fortune,  
access@iww.org.uk

Central England Organiser: Russ  
Spring. central@iww.org.uk

Communications Department,  
Chair - Xav Bear, communications@  
iww.org.uk

Cymru/Wales Organiser: Peter  
Davies, cymru@iww.org.uk

East of Scotland Organiser: Carol  
Ince, eastofscotland@iww.org.uk

Legal Officer: Guy Mitchell, Legal@  
iww.org.uk

London Regional Organiser: Taw-  
nda Nyabango

Membership Administrator: Philip  
LeMarque, membership@iww.org.uk

Merchandise Committee: merchan-  
dise@iww.org.uk

Northern Regional Organiser: Sam  
Frowien, north@iww.org.uk

Organising Department: Chair -  
Tawnda Nyabango, organising@  
iww.org.uk

Research and Survey Department:  
research@iww.org.uk

Secretary: Dave Pike, secretary@  
iww.org.uk

Southern England Organiser: Nikki  
Dancey, south@iww.org.uk

Tech Committee: tech@iww.org.uk

Training Department: Chair - Chris  
Wellbrook, training@iww.org.uk

Treasurer: Jed Forward, treasurer@  
iww.org.uk

West of Scotland Organiser: Rona  
McAlpine, westscotland@iww.  
org.uk

Women's Officer: Jen Fox, women@  
iww.org.uk

ERA Branches  
Clydeside GMB: clydeside@iww.  
org.uk

Cymru/Wales GMB: caendydd@  
iww.org.uk

Edinburgh GMB: edinburgh@iww.  
org.uk

Tyne & Wear GMB: tyneandwear@  
iww.org.uk

Bradford GMB: bradford@iww.org.uk

Leeds GMB: IWW, Ebor Court, Cooper  
Gate, Leeds. leeds@iww.org.uk

Manchester GMB: manchester@  
iww.org.uk

Sheffield GMB: IWW Office, SYAC,  
120 Wicker, Sheffield S3 8JB (0114  
223 2100). sheffield@iww.org.uk

Norwich Bar and Hospitality Workers  
IUB 640: norwich-bhw@iww.org.uk

Nottingham GMB: notts@iww.org.uk

West Midlands GMB: IWW, Bille  
Fountain, 1539 Pershore Rd, Bir-  
mingham B30 2JH (0121 459 7276).  
westmid@iww.org.uk

Bristol GMB: bristol@iww.org.uk

Reading GMB: reading@iww.org.uk

London GMB: london@iww.org.uk

Belgium  
Belgium IWW: belgium@iww.org.uk

German Language Area  
IWW German Language Area  
Regional Organizing Committee  
(GLAMROC): glamroc@wobblies.org

Austria (Vienna): iwwaustria@  
gmail.com, wien@wobblies.org

Facebook.com/pages/IWW-  
Wien/381153168710911

Berlin: Offenes Treffen jeden 2.Mon-  
tag im Monat im Cafe Commune,  
Reichenberger Str.157, 10999 Berlin,  
18 Uhr. (U-Bahnhof Kottbusser  
Tor). Postadresse: IWW Berlin, c/o  
Rotes Antiquariat, Rungstr. 20,  
10179 Berlin, Germany. berlin@  
wobblies.org

Bremen: kontakt@iww-bremen.org.  
www.iww-bremen.org

Cologne/Koeln GMB: c/o  
Allerweltschaus, Koernerstr. 77-79,  
50823 Koeln, Germany. cologne1@  
wobblies.org. www.iwwcologne.  
wordpress.com

Frankfurt a.M. GMB: Frankfurt@  
wobblies.org. http://Frankfurt.  
Wobblies.org

Hamburg - Waterkant: hamburg@  
wobblies.org

Kassel: Rote Ecke, Naumburger Str.  
20a, 34127 Kassel. kontakt@wobblies-  
kassel.de. www.wobblies-kassel.de

Leipzig: leipzig@wobblies.org

Munich: iww.muenchen@gmx.de

Rostock: iww-rostock@systemausfall.org

Switzerland: wobbly@gmx.net

Greece  
Greece IWW: iwwgreece@yahoo.gr

Iceland  
Heimssamband Verkalldis / IWW  
Iceland: Reykjavikurakademinni  
516, Hringbraut 121, 107 Reykjavik

### Lithuania

Lithuania.iww@gmail.com

### Netherlands

iww.ned@gmail.com

### Norway IWW

004793656014. post@iwwnorge.org.  
http://www.iwwnorge.org.  
www.facebook.com/iwwnorge.  
Twitter: @IWWnorge

### United States

#### Alabama

Mobile: Jimmy Broadhead, del., P.O.  
Box 160073, 36616. trdge@riseup.net  
Tuscaloosa: Gerald Lunn, 205-245-  
4622. gerald.lunn@gmail.com

#### Alaska

Fairbanks GMB: P.O. Box 80101,  
99708. Chris White, del., 907-  
457-2543. cwhite@alaskan.com.  
Facebook: IWW Fairbanks

#### Arizona

Phoenix GMB: phoenix@iww.org

Tucson GMB: tucson@iww.org

#### Arkansas

Northwest Arkansas IWW: P.O. Box  
4052, Fayetteville, 72702-4062. hww.  
nw@iww.org

#### California

Los Angeles GMB: P.O. Box 74344,  
90004. 323-374-3499. iwwglba@  
gmail.com

Sacramento IWW: 916-672-8881,  
sacramento@iww.org

San Diego IWW: 619-630-5537,  
sdhww@iww.org

San Francisco Bay Area GMB: P.O. Box  
11412, Berkeley, 94712. 510-845-  
0540. bayarea@iww.org

San Jose: SouthBayIWW@gmail.com,  
www.facebook.com/SJSB.IWW

#### Colorado

Denver GMB: IWW, P.O. Box 12451,  
Denver, 80212. 814-758-7761.  
denver.iww@iww.org

#### District of Columbia

Washington DC GMB: P.O. Box 1303,  
20013. 202-630-9620. dc.iww.  
gmb@gmail.com. www.dciww.org,  
www.facebook.com/dciww

#### Florida

Gainesville GMB: c/o Civic Media  
Center, 433 S. Main St., 32601.  
gainesvilleiww@gmail.com, www.  
gainesvilleiww.org

Hobe Sound: P. Shultz, 8274 SE Pine  
Circ, 33455-6608. 772-545-9591,  
okiedog2002@yahoo.com

Orlando: Joey Leach, del., 978-424-  
8758. orlandoiww@gmail.com

South Florida GMB: P.O. Box 370457,  
33137. 305-894-6515. miami@iww.org.  
http://www.miami.iww.org

Tallahassee: www.facebook.com/  
IWWtallahassee

Tampa Bay (Tampa, St. Pete,  
Sarasota): tampabay@iww.org,  
Sarasota (and all points south): sara-  
sota@iww.org, Sarasota Solidarity  
Network: 941-577-1570. Facebook:  
www.facebook.com/sarasotaiww/  
Twitter: @sarasotaiww

#### Georgia

Atlanta GMB: P.O. Box 5390, 31107.  
678-964-5169, contact@atl.iww.org,  
www.atliww.org

#### Idaho

Boise: Judith Englink, del., P.O. Box  
453, 33701. 208-371-9752, eppink@  
gmail.com

#### Illinois

Central Illinois, Champaign: davi-  
djohnson1451@comcast.net

Chicago: Christopher Preciado,  
del., 470-326-6531. X363823@

### gmail.com

### Indiana

Michiana GMB: Brad Laird, del., 574-  
245-0605, megand@iww.com

### Iowa

Eastern Iowa IWW: 319-333-2476.  
EasternIowaIWW@gmail.com

### Kansas

Wichita: Richard Stephenson,  
del., 620-481-1442. barrilum@  
gmail.com

### Kentucky

Kentucky GMB: Mick Parsons,  
Secretary Treasurer, papamick.iww@  
gmail.com. 502-658-0299

### Louisiana

Louisiana IWW: John Mark Crowder,  
del, wogodm1@yahoo.com. https://  
www.facebook.com/groups/iwwlo-  
uisiana/

### Maryland

Baltimore GMB: P.O. Box 33350,  
21218. baltimoreiww@gmail.com

### Massachusetts

Boston Area GMB: P.O. Box 391724,  
Cambridge, 02139. 617-863-7920,  
iww.boston@riseup.net, www.  
IWWBoston.org

Western Mass. Public Service IU  
650 Branch: IWW, P.O. Box 1581,  
Northampton, 01061

### Michigan

Detroit GMB: P.O. Box 32236, 48232.  
313-437-3404, detroit@iww.org,  
pgi@iww.org

Grand Rapids GMB: P.O. Box 6629,  
49516. 616-881-5263. grivw@  
iww.org

Central Michigan: 5007 W. Columbia  
Rd., Mason 48854. 517-676-9446,  
happyhippie6@hotmail.com

### Minnesota

Duluth IWW: P.O. Box 3232, 55803.  
iwwduluth@riseup.net

Twinn Cities GMB: 2 E. Franklin  
Ave Suite 1, Minneapolis, 55406.  
twincities@iww.org

### Missouri

Greater Kansas City IWW: P.O.  
Box 414304, Kansas City 64141.  
816-866-3808. greaterkc.iww@  
gmail.com

St. Louis IWW: P.O. Box 63142,  
63163. Secretary: stl.iww@secre-  
tary@gmail.com. Treasurer: stl.iww.  
treasurer@gmail.com

### Montana

Construction Workers IU 330:  
Dennis Georg, del., 406-490-3869,  
tramp233@hotmail.com

Missoula IWW: Charles  
Copeland, del., 406-529-6404.  
ccopelandmz@gmail.com

Two Rivers IWW: Jim Del Duca, del.,  
106 Paisley Court, Apt. 1, Bozeman  
59715. 406-599-2463. deduca@  
gmail.com

### Nebraska

Nebraska GMB: P.O. Box 27811,  
Ralston, 68127. nebraskagmb@iww.org.  
www.nebraskaiww.org

### Nevada

IU 520 Railroad Workers: Ron  
Kaminow, del., P.O. Box 2131,  
Reno, 89505. 686-358-5771.  
ronkaminow@yahoo.com

### New Hampshire

Del. at large: newhampshire@  
iww.org

### New Jersey

Central New Jersey GMB: P.O. Box  
10021, New Brunswick, 08906. 732-  
692-3491. info@newjerseyiww.org.  
Bob Ratynski, del., 908-285-5426.  
www.newjerseyiww.org

### New Mexico

Albuquerque GMB: abq@iww.org

### New York

New York City GMB: 45-02 23rd  
Street, Suite #2, Long Island  
City, 11101. iww-ny@iww.org.  
www.wobblitycity.org

Upstate NY GMB: P.O. Box 77,  
Altamont, 12009. 518-861-5627.  
ggwob56@yahoo.com

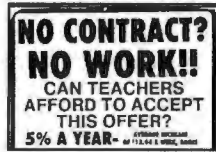
Utica IWW: Brendan Maslauskas  
Dunn, del., 315-240-3149

North Carolina  
Greenville/Eastern NC: 252-689-  
7348. tmercand@gmail.com, del.

Ohio  
Northeast Ohio GMB

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(773) 728-0996 • ghq@iww.org  
www.iww.org

IWW GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER:  
Travis Erickson

IWW GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:  
Cole Dorsey, Amani El-Hajj, Anthony  
Kaled, Tai Maag, Jesse Onland, Brianna  
Peril, and David Tucker

INDUSTRIAL WORKER EDITOR & DESIGNER:  
Roberta McNair  
iw@iww.org

COVER ART: Alec Shurtz  
Tampa Bay IWW GMB

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Good morning Fellow Workers—

As I collect the mail on the way to meetings I was able to read through the magazine.

The statement of MWA-IWW/IWOC just rocked me. Learning about Mike and Heidi's plight had me wish I had something for them.

Perhaps it is just the issue; I read but I have left much art behind. TV shows, movies—In my life, what lies right outside my door makes screens' life removed, redun-

dant.

What gets me the most is an article all about Labor & Industry Department's governmental strides into reform. Now down, or up, to a glossy quarterly, the *Industrial Worker* will report on ameliorations formed by The State.

I must admit I am a luddite; good with limited doses—

Friends, being me if I had paid \$4 for my copy I would be dissatisfied. It was like when I was given a CD of a band of re-known (The Gits). I was thankful to receive it, glad to explore it, but done with after one play. Was good I did not pay for it.

This Wobbly would like to see the *Industrial Worker* be all about what the Industrial Workers of the World is; manifesting and manifestations of reifying our Preamble. This is quarterly, rare in the timespan of a year. Reprints may need to fill for lack of

Wobbly copy, but I wish the *IW* to have little on the stage that does not pertain to Our play.

With Utmost Sincerety,  
Red, X337975

Dear Roberta,

Thanks so much for noticing my article, and for visiting the Women's Rights in the Workplace website. It would be a matter of great honor and privilege for me to have my article on Lucy Parsons included in *IWW*'s magazine. Kindly use the same as needed. Words won't suffice to express how much we all are grateful to *IWW*'s efforts then, and now.

Looking forward to the publication, and sharing it among fellow workers.

Comradely,  
Saswat Pattanayak  
**IW**



For some time now, Fellow Workers have been discussing online whether *Industrial Worker* in its current magazine format provides what branches need for organizing work, including distribution to those expressing interest in or having questions about the *IWW*. I have read a formal letter signed by a number of Wobblies and followed some email threads weighing the pros and cons of the magazine format vs. the newspaper format.

When I ran as a candidate to become *IW*'s editor in the Fall of 2016, I didn't understand that the change to a magazine format was controversial in the union. All I knew from my few years as an *IWW* member (with a break in between blocks of time) was that when it came to which I preferred to read, I chose the magazine, without hesitation. To me, the newspaper was difficult to read. The layout was cluttered and the look was unattractive to my eye. Mostly, however, as someone who has worked with the English language professionally since 1978—as a teacher, writer, editor, and proofreader—it didn't read smoothly.

The magazine seemed to me to have a more universal appeal than the newspaper did, which I thought was deliberate and for the better. And here we come to how I discovered that my philosophy of what

the magazine is for is at odds with some *FW*s: I came into the post of *IW* editor seeing the magazine as the public face of the *IWW*.

This was confirmed for me when I went through the spreadsheet of subscribers to prepare it for the printers, and I saw that there were international subscribers to *Industrial Worker*, as well as subscribers in the US who were—and weren't—Wobblies.

In seeing *IW* as how the *IWW* presents itself to the world, I have worked to choose articles and material that reflect labor struggles and successes around the world. I have not limited myself to what's going on in the *IWW*, because I believe that workers' organizing, strikes, defeats, and successes reflect the universal struggle for those who labor for others to achieve the fairness in working conditions, pay, and hours, no matter what union they are in—and even if they are not union members.

I have also sought to provide added interest by developing themes for the quarterly issues. Spring and Fall were easy, since "May Day" and "In November We Remember" rightfully dominate those issues. But I wanted to broaden the scope of the issues by going beyond what I've seen in *IW* before while still maintaining relevance to what Wobblies do and value.

I had serendipitous contact with a woman who was commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Bisbee Deportation, when she asked about submitting something to the Spring 2017 issue. When she noted that it would be tight for her to get an article in on time, since she was working on an exhibit in Bisbee that was going to open just before the anniversary, I

suggested she wait for the Summer issue.

I was only cursorily familiar with the Bisbee story, but once I began to read about it, I knew that this rich heritage—not only of the *IWW* but of other labor organizers of the time, including Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, who with their newspaper *Regeneración* and the Mexican Liberal Party, took the labor fight across the border and worked with the Wobblies to get Mexican workers in Southwest mines pay equal to the (predominately) white American workers. Their story and others wove together with the *IWW* history to create a rich tapestry of the Bisbee story.

For Fall 2017, I thought of all of the people in long-ago and recent history who worked for the same values *IWW* fights for. But they did it in the sciences, literature, art, politics, music, social action, education, and so many other fields. I wanted to remember their challenges and achievements while recognizing and remembering those who the *IWW* lost during the year. I believe that our work builds upon a foundation made up of many materials from many eras that give it strength and endurance for the long haul. And I wanted to recognize those contributions.

For Winter 2018, it seems I raised some controversy, because it was after this issue on workers in the Arts was published that I began to see the discussions about going back to the newspaper format. I grew up in the arts. It was simply what my family did. To present an issue that looked at work in literature, music, films, television, and beyond seemed to provide a natural extension from what most people consider "regular" work. But for those people who wrote those books, made those films, and

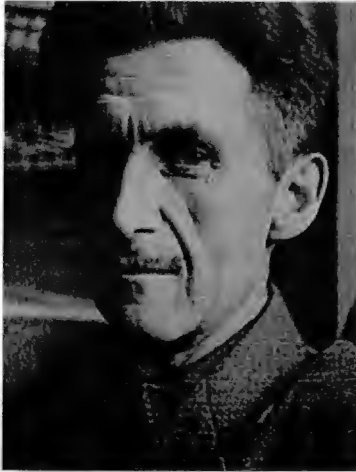
"From the Editor" continues on page 17.

## Hoping Against Hope: Sonia Brownell Orwell

Review of: **The Girl from the Fiction Department**, by Hilary Spurling

By Raymond S. Solomon

After George Orwell's death, was his radical-labor-libertarian heritage to continue? Were books like *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius* and *Homage to Catalonia* going to find a wider audience? Would his important messages for the workers of the world in "Looking Back on the Spanish War" going to be heard?



Orwell (Eric Blair, 1903–1949) met Sonia Brownell (1918–1980) at his longtime friend Cyril Connolly's magazine, *Horizon*, in 1946. *Horizon* was a prestigious literary magazine and was one of the many periodicals where Orwell was published. Sonia, a brilliant editor, was indispensable in running *Horizon*. In one of the most personal letters in Orwell's *Collected Letters* from Arthur Koestler, Koestler advised Orwell to marry Sonia Brownell as soon as possible, because she "was one of the nicest people" he knew in Britain.

Sonia Brownell Orwell was of great comfort to George Orwell in the last period of his life. She took good care of him both before and after their short marriage in 1949. Sonia Brownell Orwell was primarily responsible for the publication of the various collections of Orwell's writings that were published after his death, and therefore for Orwell becoming more famous than he was after the publication of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and for his left-wing views being much more widely read.

That Sonia was a kind, considerate, full-of-life, and politically aware person, is proved by, among other things, Or-

well's choosing her as the model for Julia in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Julia was one of Orwell's most heroic characters. Sonia Orwell's social involvement continued for a long time after Orwell's death and was manifest by, among other activities, her support of Biafra and Bangladesh, both humanitarian tragedies.

Just as Julia brought love, comfort, and assistance to Winston Smith in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, so did Sonia for Orwell during the last period of his life. Winston Smith's initial description of Julia must have mirrored Orwell's initial impression of Sonia. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* describes a woman full of life, like Sonia. Some who knew Orwell interpreted Sonia's approach to life as selfishness or mercenary behavior, especially since after so short a marriage Sonia became the inheritor of Orwell's estate and had control over his work.

One of the things Sonia had in common with Orwell was that they were both originally born and spent their very early years in India, and came to England at an early age. A big difference was that Orwell, as a child, was not close to either of his sisters. But Sonia had a little brother—or half-brother—to whom she was very close. According to Spurling, Sonia and her brother, two years younger, would speculate together about whether they had the same father.

Sonia grew up in a cohesive Anglo-Indian Catholic community. Sonia hated Catholic school, which she found brutal. As an adult, she could not stand nuns. It was similar to the Catholic schooling in pre-Republican Spain that philosophical Anarchist Francisco Ferrer rebelled against. There were separate schools for girls and boys, and Science was not taught. Ferrer went on to establish his network of Modern Schools in Spain because of his school experience.

Spurling tells us that after the sudden death in 1945 of his first wife Eileen, whom he married in 1936, in addition to being very sad, Orwell was quite lonely, despite having many friends. Sonia, his second wife, more than filled a need. She was able to move forward after his death and carry on for him.

When George Orwell died, Sonia cried for hours inconsolably. As *The Girl from the Fiction Department* describes, she had believed she could save George Orwell's life. They were both looking forward to going to Switzerland and Orwell's treatment for tuberculosis at the Sanitarium. She had plans to act as his secretary, help mate, and caretaker. She looked forward to their

future and was "hoping against hope."

Like the POUM members who were unjustly accused of being traitors to Loyalist Spain, Sonia Orwell was unjustly accused of opportunism. As Orwell stated in "Why I Write," he wrote *Homage to Catalonia* to defend men—foreign and Spanish POUM fighters—who were unjustly accused. So perhaps Sonia's longtime friend Hilary Spurling wrote *The Girl from the Fiction Department* to defend Sonia Orwell.

In promoting Orwell's heritage Sonia Orwell worked in collaboration with Ian Angus in editing the four-volume *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell*, which were published in Britain and the United States in 1968. Irving Howe commented that he did not know the extent of Orwell's writing accomplishments until he saw the collected works. These volumes are full of so many historical footnotes that they by themselves could constitute a great book. This collection was a monumental research achievement. In 1960, at University College London, Sonia established the George Orwell Archive, together with David Astor and Richard Rees.

As Hilary Spurling observed, Sonia went through the daunting work of collecting



everything Orwell published and cataloguing it. Ian Angus had suggested that he receive one fourth of the royalties, but Sonia increased his share to fifty percent, and insisted that he share the editing credit. Sonia's efforts helped bring Orwell's important working-class messages to workers throughout the world. **IW**

I thank my Fellow Worker wife Judy for her editorial help on this article.

Spurling, Hilary. (2002) *The Girl from the Fiction Department: A Portrait of Sonia Orwell*. New York: Counterpoints: A Member of the Perseus Books Group.

# Trump is making it harder for low-wage workers to organize, but this fast food union could win



By Michael Arria

April 3, 2018, *Working In These Times*  
Workers at a Burgerville in Portland, Oregon, declared on March 26 that they will file for a federal union election. If union campaigners win, the restaurant will become the first federally recognized fast food union shop in the United States. The local effort, which has a significant chance of victory, offers a powerful antidote to the Trump administration's aggressive anti-worker agenda.

This move comes after years of worker organizing as part of the Burgerville Workers Union (BVWU), which is an affiliate of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The workers gave Burgerville 48 hours to voluntarily acknowledge the union, which management refused.

BVWU went public in 2016, seeking raises for hourly workers, affordable health-care, a sustainable workplace and consistent scheduling. In addition to these demands, workers asked Burgerville to stop using the *E-Verify* system, which they say targets undocumented workers. *E-Verify* compares employee information with Department of Homeland Security and other federal records to confirm that people can legally work in the United States.

Today, six of the Washington-based company's 42 stores have publicly active unions, and workers say they've been fighting union busting and resistance from management throughout the entire process.

In an interview with the website *It's Going Down*, Luis Brennan, an employee at Burgerville's Portland Airport location, alleged that the company retaliates against

organizers by accusing them of minor infractions that wouldn't otherwise be enforced. He told the story of two Burgerville workers who were recently let go. One of them was allegedly fired for putting a small amount of ice cream in his coffee.

The other was allegedly fired for smelling like marijuana. According to Brennan, the latter worker never admitted to smoking marijuana and the company didn't ask him to take a drug test. The employee, who is black, did have a medical prescription for marijuana because of his epilepsy. "They gave him a week's suspension and then they fired him," said Brennan. "He's an active

teen months, was allegedly fired for eating a 70-cent bagel without paying for it. Vaandering said a manager gave him the bagel during a paid-break and didn't ask him for any money. While the bagel was the pretext for Vaandering's termination, he believes he was let go because he was recruiting co-workers to join the BVWU.

Asked about the alleged retaliations earlier this year, the company released the following statement: "Burgerville does not comment on individual employee matters or internal company policies."

Earlier this year, in response to management's refusal to negotiate with the union and its alleged retaliation against organizers, BVWU called on consumers to boycott Burgerville. The boycott call came during a three-day strike that started at the company's Northeast MLK Boulevard location before spreading to its Southeast Powell and 26th store, two locations in Portland.

Mark Medina, an employee at the Southeast Portland store and a member of BVWU, told *In These Times* that, while the union campaign has been active for more than 20, now is the perfect time to file for a union election. "It took a lot of work to get where we are right now," said Medina. "This was all built from the ground up:



union supporter, and the combination of racism and anti-unionism in that is pretty transparent to everybody."

Last year, Jordan Vaandering, a Burgerville employee who had worked at the store's Vancouver Plaza location for four-

no money, all volunteers. We've had major strikes and many shops, and now we'll have more leverage during the process. Our level of organization is concrete now. It's better."

Burgerville workers' call for a union

"Burgerville" continues on page 17.

# Bridgeport's contentious 1978 teachers' strike

By Andy Piascik

[andypiascik@yahoo.com](mailto:andypiascik@yahoo.com)

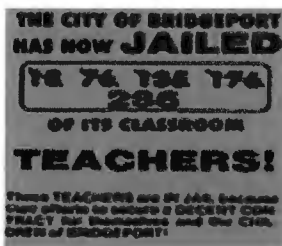
When Bridgeport public school students arrived for the first day of school on September 6, 1978, they discovered that their teachers were on strike. The Board of Education and the Bridgeport Education Association (BEA), the collective bargaining representative of the city's 1,247 teachers as well as about 100 other school professionals, had been at loggerheads for months. Connecticut law forbids strikes by teachers, however, and many Bridgeporters were caught off guard by the picket lines in front of schools.

This does not mean the city's residents were unsympathetic. On the contrary, many parents joined the picket lines, as did students. On the West Side, a neighborhood group organized its members to gather outside Longfellow School to urge students to go home and to urge parents who accompanied their children to school to support the strike.

## National Teacher Strike Wave

The walkout in Bridgeport was one of many that September, as teachers in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Seattle, and numerous smaller cities and towns saw schools closed because of strikes. Not far away, teachers in Norwalk also went on strike for five days. None of those strikes, however, was as contentious or bitter as the one in Bridgeport.

The teachers were seeking significant increases in salaries and pensions, other benefit improvements, and smaller class sizes. They had accepted what many observers



regarded as a concessionary contract in 1975, and were dissatisfied with the city's offer three years later. The union pointed out that salaries in Bridgeport for teachers and other school staff were the lowest in Fairfield County (as they are today) and among the lowest in the state. The union also noted the regular exodus of teachers from Bridgeport to higher-salaried jobs in nearby school districts, another trend that remains in 2018.

From the outset, the strike was highly successful. Only 36 teachers, or less than 3%, reported for work on September 6th,

and that number dropped in the days that followed. The Board of Ed kept elementary and middle schools open at first by utilizing a small number of teaching aides, substitute teachers, and accredited, unemployed teachers, but only 10% of students showed up. The city's Parent Teacher Association supported the strike by rejecting a call by the Board that they assist in staffing schools and helping scab teachers.

## Mass Arrests and Imprisonment

Arrests began just days into the strike and State Superior Court Judge James Heneby began levying fines of \$10,000 per day against the union. As the strike continued, Heneby ordered the union's officers jailed. The first jailings of teachers occurred on September 12th, when thirteen strikers were handcuffed and carted off, the men to a prison in New Haven and the women to one in Niantic some 60 miles away. Those arrested endured degradations such as strip searches and being doused with lice spray. Adding further insult, Heneby imposed individual fines of \$350 per person per day on the arrestees.

Angered by the arrests and the teachers' subsequent treatment—treatment that one arrestee later called the most humiliating event of her life—the strikers turned out to the picket lines the following day in ever larger numbers and with greater determination and militancy. One result was that the city and school board were forced to abandon efforts to keep any schools open. With all 38 schools closed, another 115 teachers were arrested in the next few days and 274 in all were arrested during the strike, 22% of the total in the city. Many of those arrested were packed onto buses and taken 70 miles to a National Guard camp in Windsor Locks that was converted into a makeshift prison.

## Standing Firm to Victory

With all of the other strikes around the country settled, the mass arrest and imprisonment of Bridgeport's teachers was drawing international attention and causing local elites and city residents as a whole great embarrassment. Despite the arrests, jailings, fines and some tense scenes on a

number of picket lines, the teachers stood firm. Finally, on September 25th, after 19 days, the teachers union and Board of Ed both agreed to accept binding arbitra-



Bridgeport, Conn.'s William Harding High School

tion. All teachers, some of whom had been locked up for 13 days, were released from prison. The final terms of the agreement were largely favorable to the teachers.

## New Legislation: A Setback?

In the strike's aftermath, the Connecticut legislature passed the 1979 Teacher Collective Bargaining Act that mandates binding arbitration when teachers and the municipalities they work for are stalemated in contract negotiations. While some observers saw the law as a victory for teachers, it remains illegal for teachers in Connecticut to strike. In addition, a number of changes to the law since 1979, such as one that allows municipalities but not unions to reject the decision of an arbitrator, have weakened the bargaining position of teachers.

The law's restriction against strikes is also problematic, as conditions for Bridgeport teachers, not to mention students, have in many ways worsened since 1978. In Chicago, where strikes are not illegal, teachers who struck for nine days in 2012, and for shorter durations several times since, have again shown that significant improvements can be won with strikes. Those actions have countered attempts by elites intent on weakening teacher unions and underfunding schools by pitting the interests of students against those of teachers. A similar alliance of the wider public and school professionals, including 274 who endured arrest and scandalous treatment, is what enabled teachers to prevail and lift all boats in their strike in Bridgeport in 1978. **IW**

Bridgeport native Andy Piascik is a long-time activist and award-winning author whose novel *In Motion* was recently published by Sunshine Publishing ([www.sunshinepublishing.org](http://www.sunshinepublishing.org)). He can be reached at [andypiascik@yahoo.com](mailto:andypiascik@yahoo.com).

# The people united on the Embarcadero

By Charles W. Martin III

In the early 1930s on the West Coast of the United States, the longshoremen and the sailors, who make the shipping trade possible, were working under grueling conditions for low pay. The longshoremen made on average \$40 a month, while able seamen and ordinary seamen made roughly \$53 and \$36 a month respectively. Both longshoremen and sailors faced extended unemployment between jobs, but when work was available they were forced to work long hours. The longshoremen could be forced to work shifts up to 36 hours straight, and the sailors worked up to 16 hours a day.

Neither the longshoremen nor the sailors had adequate union protection against these injustices. The longshoremen were channeled into the gangster-controlled Blue Book Union. Through this "union" they had to use payoffs and bribes to gain work. The sailors were mostly unorganized, except for the small and corrupt International Seaman's Union, and the even

longshoremen demanded a \$1/ hour wage, a six-hour day, a 30-hour workweek, and the creation of a union hall to remove hiring decisions from the gangsters in the Blue Book Union.

However, the bosses had nothing to negotiate; only a Communist insurrection to put down. The press supported them by launching a slander campaign to paint the workers as Disney villains. Consider this "gem" from the San Francisco Chronicle, headlined "Red Army Marching on City":



ILWU march down Market Street and Nick Bordoise, a member of the cook's union and the local Communist Party. By the end of Bloody Thursday, 2,000 National Guardsmen were called out and it appeared that the strike was lost.

However, that very night the people of San Francisco began stirring. 35,000 people marched at the funeral for the two slain men. Then, beginning with the Painter's Union Local 1158, local after local were calling for a general strike. They were ignoring the frantic cries of "Red" by the mainstream business press and William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor. All but two of the city's union locals—around 160 locals with a membership of 127,000—walked out on the morning of July 16, 1934.

Many of the unions in San Francisco were run by corrupt and opportunist labor leaders, who comprised a majority of the General Strike Committee. They did not want the workers to go on a general strike but they went along to get along in order to not be swept away by the wave of the rank and file.

This rank-and-file wave led to the city being completely shut down—nothing moved without the blessing of the General Strike Committee. While the bosses owned everything, they were nothing without their workers. Not a single gear or machine ran. The bosses responded to their impotence by bringing in 3,000 additional National Guardsmen and hiring vigilantes to wreck, among other things, union halls, bookstores, the headquarters of the local Communist Party and other worker organizations, and even a soup kitchen run by the ILA. In one amusing incident, the police pathetically arrested 500 homeless

"Embarcadero" continues on page 17.

## 120 UNIONS VOTE ON CALL OF 45,000 TO GENERAL STRIKE



smaller militant Marine Workers Industrial Union that was part of the Trade Union Unity League.

The inhumane conditions mentioned above, along with the legal right for workers to organize through the recently passed National Industrial Recovery Act, led the longshoremen to flock into the International Longshoreman Association (ILA). The bosses, violating the law (which they consider sacred only when it benefits them) refused to negotiate with the union and fired four rank-and-file militants. In response, the longshoremen and the sailors went out on strike up and down the West Coast 35,000 strong on May 9, 1934. The

... the Communist army planned the destruction of railroad and highway facilities to paralyze transportation and later, communication, while San Francisco and the Bay Area were made a focal point in a red struggle for control of government.

Joseph Ryan, the opportunist and mob-connected ILA president, tried to scuttle the strike by signing an agreement with the bosses over the heads of the workers. When they told him to go pound sand, he also joined in the chorus of accusing the strikers of being Communists.

On July 3, 1934, the police attacked the picket line at the Embarcadero pier in San Francisco and a vicious fight ensued for four hours. The police attacked with their guns, batons, and tear gas while the strikers fought back with bricks and their fists. The next day saw a truce on the July 4<sup>th</sup> holiday, with the fighting picking up where it left off on July 5<sup>th</sup>. That day, known as Bloody Thursday, saw other workers and students come to the picket line to reinforce the besieged strikers.

The police wrecked the headquarters of the ILA, hundreds were badly wounded, and two strikers were killed. The two slain men were Howard Sperry, a longshoreman,

# All work. No play.



Men in CAAIR session

## By Fellow Worker Randy Gould

What happens when you combine capitalism with the prison system? Horror! Should we be shocked that almost no one gives a hoot what is going on as we sleep down in Oklahoma? I'm thinking, yeah, we should. While this article below focuses on one program in one state, very much similar operations are occurring all over this great land of ours. Convicts are pretty much stuck at the bottom of the "rights" barrel. They ain't got hardly any at all. I made like 7 cents an hour when I worked in prison. My job wasn't dangerous, unless the power plant I was working in happened to blow up or something. In fact, I kinda liked the job (it beat sitting around doing nothing), but still 7 cents. Talk about surplus value, talk about stealing labor power. Still, I don't much care what the pay is, what is happening in Oklahoma is a travesty.

I have no idea what it takes to simply get people's attention focused on something like this, none, zip. I am sure of one thing, typing these words here isn't going to do it. Maybe, it's just a good way for me to get the rage out and not get myself arrested in the process. Been there, done that, that didn't get anyone's attention either (well, it got mine, I suppose).

By the way, I bet dollars to donuts the program operating the "diversionary" program here is a not-for-profit. Don't even get me started on that.

A recent report on the abuses of convict laborers in Oklahoma chicken plants should cause widespread outrage...

## Why isn't this a major national scandal?

By Nathan J. Robinson

December 19, 2017, *Current Affairs*

... Let me just summarize what *Reveal's* report shows: In rural Oklahoma, a pro-

gram called Christian Alcoholics & Addicts in Recovery (CAAIR) supposedly operates as a diversionary treatment program for drug offenders, that judges

There wasn't much substance abuse treatment at CAAIR. It was mostly factory work for one of America's top poultry companies. If McGahey got hurt or worked too slowly, his bosses threatened him with prison.

And he worked for free. CAAIR pocketed the pay.

"It was a slave camp," McGahey said. "I can't believe the court sent me there."

... Chicken processing plants are notoriously dangerous and understaffed. The hours are long, the pay is low, and the conditions are brutal.

can sentence defendants to as an alternative to prison. In reality, CAAIR operates a labor camp, in which residents work long hours in slaughterhouses for large food companies. There is no real "treatment" to speak of, and CAAIR pockets the workers' wages. Sometimes those sent there haven't even committed drug offenses; it appears to exist simply to provide convict labor for large corporations.

## They thought they were going to rehab. They ended up in chicken plants

By Amy Julia Harris and Shoshana Walter

October 4, 2017, *Reveal News*

Standing in a tiny wood-paneled courtroom in rural Oklahoma in 2010, [Brad McGahey] faced one year in state prison. The judge had another plan.

A few weeks later, McGahey stood in front of a speeding conveyor belt inside a frigid poultry plant, pulling guts and stray feathers from slaughtered chickens destined for major fast food restaurants and grocery stores.



CAAIR divertee Brad McGahey, who was injured while working on the line.

Men in the CAAIR program said their hands became gnarled after days spent hanging thousands of chickens from metal shackles. One man said he was burned with acid while hosing down a trailer. Others were maimed by machines or contracted serious bacterial infections.

Those who were hurt and could no longer work often were kicked out of CAAIR and sent to prison, court records show. Most men worked through the pain, fearing the same fate.

"They work you to death. They work you every single day," said Nate Turner, who graduated from CAAIR in 2015. "It's a work camp. They know people are desperate to get out of jail, and they'll do whatever they can do to stay out of prison." **IW**

To read each complete article, use the links below:  
<https://www.currentaffairs.org/2017/12/why-isnt-this-a-major-national-scandal>  
<https://www.revealnews.org/article/they-thought-they-were-going-to-rehab-they-ended-up-in-chicken-plants/>

# Women's gender pay inequality

By Ellie Sawyer

In this time of growing empowerment, with movements such as #TimesUp, #MeToo, and #YesAllWomen, it is easy to think that women are about to come into their own as equal participants in society. It would be easy to believe that as women come forward about their stories of sexual abuse and discrimination that society is ready to face its role in perpetuating patriarchal persecution. However, it is far from being that simple.

for whatever reason, the thresholds to get into these sciences is lower than for physics and engineering. Because women were able to infiltrate the ranks of these careers with greater ease, the reputations of these sciences suffered. So, we can assume, did their funding. But why?

When the 2015 study on gender wage inequality came out from the Department of Labor, the statistics were staggering—and controversial. While it claimed that a white woman made 80 cents for every

sions less valuable to society? You may balk at the thought of teachers not being valued, but considering the strikes taking place in Kentucky, Arizona, and Oklahoma, you would be wrong. And what of my story? Based on the disparity between software engineers and ecologists in terms of how seriously they are taken and how much funding they receive, you can see how society might be set up in such a way to pay more “feminine” occupations, or occupations with lower thresholds for women, less.

That is not the only source of disparity. Unfortunately, in my case, most biologists are still men, and women still face huge gender inequality in biological fields—being passed over for jobs, being underfunded or under-published, and being dismissed by their bosses, peers, and even their own students. When I was at university, for example, my climate science professor was Dr. Jia Hu, an Asian-American woman. More than once a class period, my male peers would question her authority on the subject matter—and when they were confronted with their behavior by the president of the campus feminist club, one stubborn boy threw his hands up and declared, “I was just asking a question!” Fortunately, he was the only one stubborn enough not to proffer an apology to our professor, though I doubt it would be the last time Jia would face such aggression.

## Bachelor's Degrees Earned by Women in STEM Fields



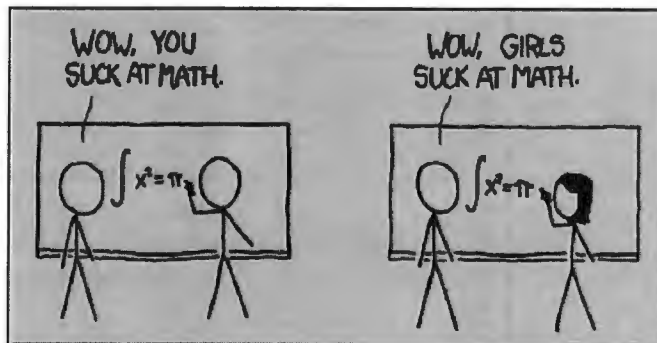
I offer a personal anecdote of sorts: As noted in my byline, my degree is in biological sciences. Biology is a very important line of science used in very necessary everyday applications. The problem is that whenever I mention my degree, especially to someone in a different line of STEM-related (science, technology, engineering, and math) career, I am often met with some scoffing variant of, “Oh, so you study soft science.” Having taken years of related coursework, I can assure you that there is nothing “soft” about biology: It is not a science for the faint of heart. Sure, the maths involved are arguably not as complicated, but I can attest to the fact that the memorization of the many different types of muscle groups in a preserved cat or dogfish, or the several types of organic chemical groups, is nothing to sniff at. I would challenge even the smartest engineer to attempt to identify a category of grass. Most tenured professors of botany even balk at the task! Even more than that, although less than one percent of all STEM graduates are biology majors, breaking into a career in biology and ecology is extremely competitive, due to lack of funding. Why?

Well, as it turns out, it is not the only science to be treated this way. Psychology and sociology are also treated with this lack of respect. Ever hear someone dismiss a psychologist as “not a real scientist”? I have—and I have even been guilty of doing it myself! Many believe this because,

dollar a white man made (it is even less for women of color, most men of color, and people with disabilities) and provided ample reason and evidence for this disparity, many people did not read into the evidence or the reason. They assume it speaks to an individual level of pay inequality—that in instances of a single employer, the male employees are being paid more than the female employees of equivalent qualifications. Because of this, the 2016 study caused great contention, and a more than a few people dismissed it out of hand, chalk-ing it up to being deeply flawed.

Let's perform a thought experiment: I'll name a few jobs and careers, and you think about them in terms of pay, of qualifications, and of value to society. Let's start with something easy: surgeons? Soldiers, perhaps? How about cattle ranchers? CEOs? Pretty valuable people, right? Now let's consider another group: florists? Waitresses? Fry cooks? Secretaries? Nurses? Teachers?

See the pattern? Can you guess which ones get paid more? Why are people who are in what can qualify as “service” profes-



There is always hope, of course. After the Women's March and the March for Science, women became more vocal about their treatment in STEM-related careers. Study upon study in the last few years have been performed, reinforcing the fact that women are not equals in their fields, and that opportunities for them to even enter those fields in the first place are limited.

*“Pay inequality” continues on page 17.*

# I should be so lucky, Buddy. I ain't got a job: The fight for equal work

By Logan Marie Glitterbomb

As the slogan goes, "equal pay for equal work." But what about those who still can't even get their foot in the door to get equal work in the first place? While cis women are still being underpaid in comparison to cis men, many trans folks are struggling to even find a job at all. I can't tell you how many interviews that I've been to where the interviewer's face sours the minute they realize they are interviewing a trans woman, leaving the rest of the interview as just a painful display of formality and unspoken bigotry with no hope of a return call. After a while it seems so hopeless that you barely even bother anymore.

After nearly three years of that, I am stuck only working freelance gigs—both manual labor and journalism. Sure, it's better than nothing, but \$10 or less for an article that takes me half a day or more to write is next to nothing. Going weeks or even months between finding a house-cleaning gig or a carpentry job means having to pull off other hustles or beg friends for food and resources to fill in the gaps. It is an undignified, a broken-bargain-informographic-transgender and desperate way of life, but it is the reality I live in, and the reality many other trans folks face every day.

suicide.

But we cannot just see ourselves as victims; we must find a way out. We must find a way to make our own. This is why there are so many trans folks in industries like sex work or drug sales.

When you are kept out of damned near every other industry based on the prejudice of others, you do what you have to do to survive.

Can unions do anything to change this? Union shops could absolutely craft anti-discrimination rules, but that doesn't necessarily change the boss' hiring prejudices: It merely provides legal recourse for those already employed. Given more time however, unions could definitely foster a healthier work environment and help out already employed trans folks, thus hope-

fully paving the way towards a trans-friendly workplace that would hire more trans folks moving forward. I personally have seen that happen locally after one of our late sisters, Zot Szurgot—dual carder with the IWW and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—came out as a trans woman after already being employed and unionized.

At first, many in her union shared transphobic views, but through her hard work for the union, she proved her own and thus pushed her fellow workers into



being more accepting. Now many of them are powerful trans allies who would gladly work beside other trans folks. Seeing that type of acceptance from her co-workers made them less fearful to hire her for jobs and, by proxy, made them less likely to turn down other qualified people based on their gender.

But Zot was special. She was especially brave to not only come out in her workplace but to do so in an industry known for being much more hypermasculine than others. Not all trans folks have the mental spoons to deal with the inevitable backlash that would come with such a bold act. Many face fears of violence, a loss of resources, or the threat of being fired. Many face the choice of being out and unemployed or being employed while having to go stealth and facing the constant mental toll of having to hide and be consistently misgendered.

There are no easy or fast solutions. To be honest I don't know how we solve this problem. I don't have the answers to these questions short of revolution. But we can't keep pushing off these conversations while people are dying from homelessness and hunger. We can talk about equal pay for women but let's not forget that that only helps those women (and non-women) who are employed in the first place, and many of us are still just fighting for the mere right to be employed. That is why it is so important that the IWW includes the unemployed within the ranks of the One Big Union. The voices of the unemployed must be included if we wish to truly help the working class. Together we stand in solidarity with all our working class sisters, both employed and unemployed. Together we rise. **IW**



Illinois State  
Report



**INCOME:** 21% of transgender Illinoisans live in poverty

**EDUCATION:** 80% experienced mistreatment in K-12 school, 27% in higher education

**HOUSING:** 21% experienced housing discrimination in past year; 28% were homeless at one time

**IN PUBLIC:** 33% suffered mistreatment in public accommodations, 58% avoid public restrooms

**HEALTH:** 29% could not afford to see a doctor, 24% didn't go out of fear

**ID:** Only 11% report all documents match their name and gender identification, 65% have no correct ID

It's this state of constant struggle, on top of having to deal with other forms of societal prejudice, that ends in so many trans folks being homeless or even committing

# A tale of two sexist

By Anonymous

Where I work, we have our share of spoiled trust-fund kids to deal with. A few years ago, I was charged with training one of them: Let's call him "K". I don't know how K got to the point that he was doing rotations as a pre-PharmD [Doctor

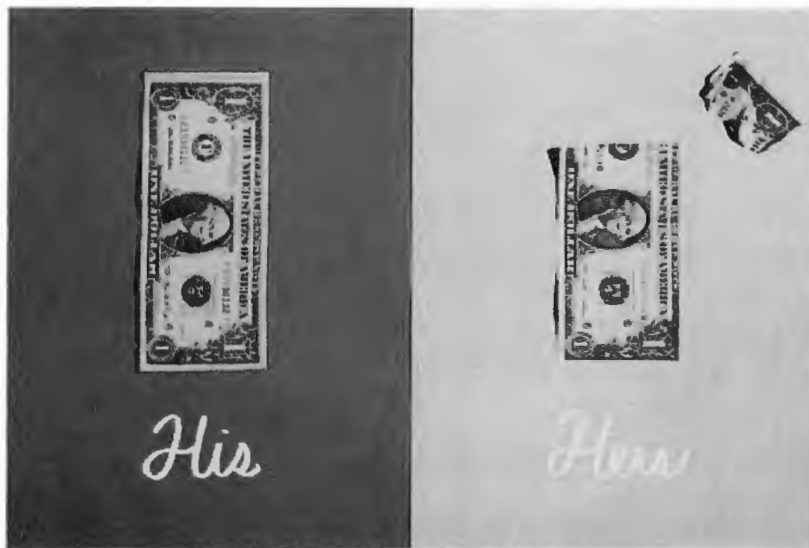
to put different women in a different lab through all the same bullshit. We cleaned up after him and moved on.

Most men I know aren't like K; their sexism is less obvious. They aren't this brazen, and even if they do secretly share his mindset, they don't have the connec-

technology, engineering, and math] resume means thousands less in pay and being seen as less qualified and competent than the exact same resume with a man's name. It is the big question of whether or not to use your full name or initials. Not because you might be mistaken for another scientist with a similar name, but because you can't be sure if your research will be taken seriously with a woman's name on it. It is not having any women faculty or women in senior positions in my department to turn to about all these little (and big) things. All these little things build up to make you feel unwelcome, unwanted, and not good enough.

I went into STEM because I thought it would be a place where I could be respected for my work without my gender being taken into consideration. The truth is, I will always be a "woman scientist," whereas the men I work with have the privilege of just being a "scientist." This is a distinction that few admit, much less understand. When men fail in a male-dominated field, it reflects badly on them personally. They don't carry the weight of having to prove they and everyone like them deserve to be there and are capable of the job. They don't have to carry this burden, or struggle with the constant reminders to doubt themselves and their worthiness. They're a scientist, period. That's all I want, and I don't think it is too much to ask for.

And don't be angry about people like K. Strive to do something to stop it, no matter what your gender. Things will not change if we are complacent. Acknowledge your own privilege, whatever type it is. Strive to recognize it, confront it, and use it for good when you can. Men like K won't listen to people like me; it is up to you stand your ground and let him know that it is not okay—for him, for you, for me, for anyone. **IW**



Disparity in income for men and women in STEM

of Pharmacy], if not for well-connected family members pulling a lot of strings for him. His knowledge was severely lacking. It wasn't long before "K" became a synonym for "ignorant, expensive, and easily avoidable mistake," as all of his work was full of these, despite his belief that he already knew everything there was to know.

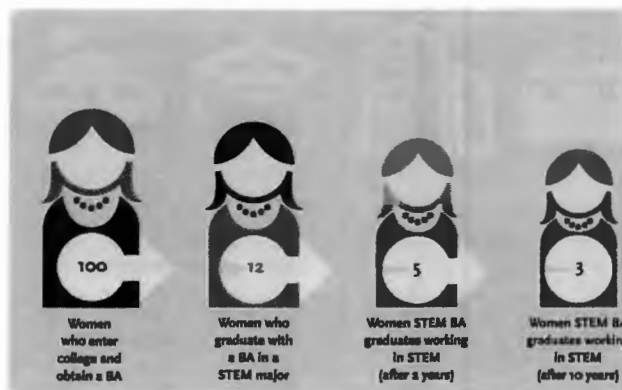
My first impression of K was that his interpersonal skills were severely lacking—until I saw him interacting with other men in the lab like a normal human being. He was incapable even feigning respect for women but was perfectly able to treat other men as equals, even mentors. K refused to listen to or take any advice from women. Obviously this is a problem when you're a woman and your duty is to train someone, but it is an even bigger problem when that person has access to dangerous reagents, expensive media, millions of dollars of equipment, and the priceless samples that constitute the life's work of many people.

Dealing with men like this, you soon learn they will never take responsibility for their mistakes, and since they will always make mistakes until they learn—and refuse to learn from you—all communication must be come through another man. So we played that game of telephone. Eventually, K's time with us ended, and he went on

tions to get away with treating women like pieces of shit all day, every day. But the men I work with still enabled him, downplayed his actions, or looked the other way. Knowing he would not listen to me and the other women training him, they did not confront him. Most men are blind to their own misogyny in the workplace and beyond.

Now it is often the little stuff that gets to me. Like reminding male co-workers that I was the one that trained them on a procedure, when they see me doing it and ask if I know what I'm doing, or if I need any help. Little stuff like delivery people assuming I'm not a scientist and that the male undergrad almost half my age is, when they're looking for someone to sign for packages or help with equipment. These and other things so small that you feel crazy for letting it bother you.

But there are bigger things, too. The fact that putting a woman's name on the top of a STEM [science,



# Lucy Parsons: Revolutionary feminist

By Saswat Pattanayak

*Women's Rights in the Workplace*

No legal case in American history has been more cited than the Scottsboro Trial. Nine young African-American men, aged 13 and up, were jailed in Scottsboro, Alabama, to await trial over an accusation that they had raped two white women on a train in the Spring of 1931.

The nature of racism in this instance was not the novelty—indeed, American society was witness to countless false charges brought against Black people. However, the Scottsboro Trial became a landmark via the manner in which racism for the first time was fiercely and openly challenged in the United States.

When the entire country was refusing to take the side of Scottsboro Nine, it was the Communist Party that came to aid the young men. International Labor Defense—a coalition formed by the Communists to defend the Scottsboro Nine—benefited from the active involvement of a Black woman on their national board, a pioneering champion of the labor classes in America: Lucy Parsons (1853–1942).

## Class, Race, and Gender

Parsons' commitments towards freedom of the young Black Communist Angelo Herndon in Georgia, Tom Mooney in California, and for the Scottsboro Nine in Alabama were unflinching. Parsons recognized the class system in America as the prime factor in perpetuating racism. She was the foremost American feminist to declare that race, gender, and sexuality are not oppressed identities by themselves. It is the economic class that determines the level of oppression people in minorities have to confront. Notwithstanding her social condition of being a Black and a woman, Parsons declared that a Black person in America is exploited not because she/he is Black: "It is because he is poor. It is because he is dependent. Because he is poorer as a class than his white wage-slave brother of the North."

Lucy Parsons was a relentless defender of working-class rights. To contain her popularity, the media portrayed her more as the wife of Albert Parsons—a Haymarket martyr, who, while demanding an eight-hour working day, was murdered by the state of Illinois, on November 11, 1887. While identifying her with Albert's causes, history textbooks—both liberal and conservative—seldom mention Parsons as the radical torchbearer of American Communist movement.

## Communitistic Commitments

Parsons' commitment to the cause of International Communism often embarrassed the United States administration. The FBI confiscated her library, comprising over 1,500 books and progressive works, soon after her accidental death—thus preventing the country from having access to her radicalism. But those that witnessed Parsons' oratory and benefited from her skills in organizing labor knew of Parsons' disdain towards anarchism, which she felt was not capable of leading the masses into



Fellow Worker and Fellow Traveler  
Lucy Parsons

revolutions.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union, the IWW would witness several of its main organizers joining the Communist Party. Parsons, along with "Big" Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, was among the pioneering American Communists. Parsons not only had officially joined the Communist Party of the United States, she was also vocally opposed to distractions within revolutionary movements.

Parsons criticized celebrated anarchist Emma Goldman for "addressing large middle-class audiences." Whereas Lucy Parsons' feminism considered women's oppression as a function of capitalism, Emma Goldman was clearly not in favor of a vanguard party taking up feminist causes. Parsons, in her dedication towards working-class liberation movements, never lost sight of her goal, never compromised on her principled stands on the side of the working poor, and never aspired for mere

social acceptance or glory.

## Voice of Dissent

Parsons was among the first women to join the founding convention of the IWW. She thundered: "We, the women of this country, have no ballot even if we wished to use it. But we have our labor. Wherever wages are to be reduced, the capitalist class uses women to reduce them."

In *The Agitator*, dated November 1, 1912, she referred to Haymarket martyrs thus: "Our comrades were not murdered by the state because they had any connection with the bombthrowing, but because they were active in organizing the wage-slaves. The capitalist class didn't want to find the bombthrower; this class foolishly believed that by putting to death the active spirits of the labor movement of the time, it could frighten the working class back to slavery."

She had no illusions about capitalistic world order. Parsons called for an armed overthrow of the American ruling class. She refused to buy into an argument that the origin of racist violence was in racism. Instead, Parsons viewed racism as a necessary byproduct of capitalism. In 1886, she called for armed resistance by the working class: "You are not absolutely defenseless. For the torch of the incendiary, which has been known with impunity, cannot be wrested from you!"

For Parsons, her personal losses meant nothing; her oppression as a woman meant less. She was dedicated to ushering in changes for all of humanity—changes that would alter the world order in favor of the working poor class.

Even as a founding member of IWW, she was not willing to let the world's largest labor union function in a romanticized manner. She radicalized the IWW by demanding that women, Mexican migrant workers, and even the unemployed become full and equal members.

With her clarity of vision, lifelong devotion to Communist causes, her strict adherence to radical demands for a societal replacement of class structure, Lucy Parsons remains the most shining example of an American woman who turned her disadvantaged social position of race and gender to one of formidable strength—raising herself to bring about emancipated working-class consciousness. **IW**

Saswat Pattanayak is employed as a social justice blogger for New York law firm *Women's Rights in the Workplace* engaged in women's workplace advocacy. <https://womensrightsny.com/lucy-parsons-revolutionary-feminist/>

# A new Declaration of Independence

By Emma Goldman

1909

*Author's note: This "Declaration" was written at the request of a certain newspaper, which subsequently refused to publish it, though the article was already in composition.*

When, in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow, these institutions.

The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, color, or sex, are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right, there must be established political freedom; we hold further that among men economic, social, and government exists but to maintain that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity.

The history of the American

history of repeated crimes, injustice, all aiming at the suppression of the people. A vast country, rich in all possible comforts, and insure few, while the nameless millions gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers, of America are forced to tramp the and many of her daughters are of tender children are daily sacrifice of these kings is holding erty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice, and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the best and finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife, and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare, That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has, by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unbridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social, and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, racial, religious, and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of man's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

*Retrieved on March 15th, 2009 from [sunsite.berkeley.edu](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu); Published in Mother Earth, Vol. IV, no. 5, July 1909*



kings of capital and authority is the tice, oppression, outrage, and abuse, dividual liberties and the exploitation enough to supply all her children with well-being to all, is in the hands of a are at the mercy of ruthless wealth and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons country in a fruitless search for bread, driven into the street, while thousands ficed on the altar of Mammon. The mankind in slavery, perpetuating pov-

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*Cut on the dotted line.*

# What is there in anarchy for woman?

Uncredited interview with Emma Goldman, October 24, 1897

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

"What does anarchy hold out to me—a woman? More to woman than to anyone else—everything which she has not—freedom and equality."

Quickly, earnestly Emma Goldman, the priestess of anarchy, exiled from Russia, feared by police, and now a guest of St. Louis Anarchists, gave this answer to my question. I found her at No. 1722 Oregon Avenue, an old-style two-story brick house, the home of a sympathizer—not a relative as has been stated. . . .

I found Emma Goldman sipping her coffee and partaking of bread and jelly, as her morning's repast. She was neatly clad in a percale shirt waist and skirt, with white collar and cuffs, her feet encased in a loose pair of cloth slippers. She doesn't look like a Russian Nihilist who will be sent to Siberia if she ever crosses the frontier of her native land.

"Do you believe in marriage?" I asked. "I do not," answered the fair little Anarchist, as promptly as before. "I believe that when two people love each other that no judge, minister or court, or body of people, have anything to do with it. They themselves are the ones to determine the relations which they shall hold with one another. When that relation becomes irksome to either party, or one of the parties, then it can be as quietly terminated as it was formed."

Miss Goldman gave a little nod of her head to emphasize her words, and quite a pretty head it was, crowned with soft brown hair, combed with a bang and brushed to one side. Her eyes are the honest blue, her complexion clear and white. Her nose though rather broad and of a Teutonic type, was well formed. She is short of stature, with a well-rounded figure. Her whole type is more German than Russian. The only serious physical failing that she has is in her eyes. She is so extremely near-sighted that with glasses she can scarcely distinguish print.

"The alliance should be formed," she continued, "not as it is now, to give the woman a support and home, but because the love is there, and that state of affairs can only be brought about by an internal revolution, in short, Anarchy."

She said this as calmly as though she had just expressed an ordinary everyday fact, but the glitter in her eyes showed the "internal revolutions" already at work in her

busy brain.

"What does Anarchy promise woman?"

"It holds everything for woman—freedom, equality—everything that woman has not now."

"Isn't woman free?"

"Free! She is the slave of her husband and her children. She should take her part in the business world the same as the man; she should be his equal before the world, as she is in the reality. She is as capable as he, but when she labors she gets less wages. Why? Because she wears skirts instead of trousers." . . .

Miss Goldman has a pleasant accent. She rolls her r's and changes her r's into v's and vice-versa, with a truly Russian pronunciation. She gesticulates a great deal. When she becomes excited her hands and feet and shoulders all help to illustrate her meanings.

"What would you do with the children of the Anarchistic era?"

"The children would be provided with common homes, big boarding schools, where they will be properly cared for and educated and in every way given as good, and in most cases better, care than they would receive in their own homes. Very few mothers know how to take proper care of their children, anyway. It is a science only a very few have learned." . . .

She gazed contemplatively in the bottom of the empty coffee cup, as though she saw in imagination the ideal State, already an actuality.

"Who will take care of the children?" I asked, breaking in upon her reverie.

"Every one," she answered, "has tastes and qualifications suiting them to some occupation. I am a trained nurse. I like to care for the sick. So it will be with some women. They will want to care for and teach the children."

"Won't the children lose their love for their parents and feel the lack of their companionship?" A thought of the affectionate little darlings being relegated to a sort of an orphan asylum crossed my mind.

"The parents will have the same opportunities of gaining their confidences and affections as they have now. They can spend just as much time there as they please or have them with them just as often as desired. They will be the children of love—healthy, strong-minded—and not as now, in most cases, born of hate and domestic dissensions."



Emma Goldman

"What do you call love?"

"When a man or woman finds some quality or qualities in another that they admire and has an overweening desire to please that person, even to the sacrificing of personal feeling; when there is that subtle something drawing them together, that those who love recognize, and feel it in the inmost fiber of their being, then I call that love." She finished speaking and her face was suffused with a rosy blush.

"Can a person love more than one at a time?"

"I don't see why not—if they find the same lovable qualities in several persons. What should prevent one loving the same things in all of them? If we cease to love the man or woman and find some one else, as I said before, we talk it over together and quietly change the mode of living. The private affairs of the family need not then be talked over in the courts and become public property. No one can control the affections, therefore there should be no jealousies. Heart aches? Oh, yes," she said, sadly, "but not hatred because he or she has tired of the relations. The human race will always have heartaches as long as the heart beats in the breast." . . .

Pretty Miss Goldman finished speaking, and a delicate flush mounted to her cheek as I asked her if she intended to marry.

"No; I don't believe in marriage for others, and I certainly should not preach one thing and practice another."

She sat in an easy attitude with one leg crossed over the other. She is in every sense a womanly looking woman, with masculine mind and courage.

She laughed as she said there were fifty police at her lecture on Wednesday night, and she added, "If there had of been a bomb thrown I would surely have been blamed for it."

U.C. Berkeley Library. Jewish Women's Archive. "Emma Goldman Interview in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, October 24, 1897." <<https://jwa.org/media/interview-with-goldman-published-in-st-louis-post-dispatch>>.

## Solidarity from across the ocean. On bikes.



FWs,

Wanted to share this: The [International Solidarity Commission] informed the other unions involved in the New International Project about the J20 charges and the attempt to target the IWW and GDC in particular. The FAU [Free Workers' Union] in Berlin sent this picture. I believe this picture is mostly Deliveroo workers, who had their own action against Deliveroo on Friday, April 13, but also wanted to express solidarity with the J20 defendants. Great example of international solidarity in action!

Solid,  
Brandon S.

Dear Brandon,

In the face of these oppressive charges we are sending you and the IWW members facing trial this week solidarity and strength from Germany. FAU [Freie Arbeiterinnen- und Arbeiter-Union] Berlin members got together on Friday in time for the trial on the 17th. We're sorry that we couldn't get this photo to you before the 10th. We are all hoping from the bottom of our hearts that the charges get dropped.

In solidarity,  
Anna & FAU Berlin



*"Burgerville" continues from page 6.*

call for a union election comes on the heels of a potentially major defeat for fast-food workers at the federal level. Trump's National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) General Counsel Peter Robb recently negotiated a tentative settlement between

McDonald's and the NLRB over a landmark case pushed by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)-backed Fight for \$15 campaign that aimed to hold the company responsible for its individual franchises' labor violations. The details of the tentative settlement, which is pend-

ing approval by an NLRB judge, remain undisclosed. But McDonald's admits to no wrongdoing, and the settlement allows the company to avoid the "joint employer" designation that would allow groups like Fight for \$15 to unionize fast food locations more effectively. **IW**

*"Pay inequality" continues from page 10.*

There is always hope, of course. After the Women's March and the March for Science, women became more vocal about their treatment in STEM-related careers. Study upon study in the last few years have been performed, reinforcing the fact that women are not equals in their fields, and that opportunities for them to even enter those fields in the first place are limited. Organizations such as Klossie's Koders, National Girls Collaborative Project, Million Women Mentors, and the Scientista Foundation all strive to promote women in science and provide resources for young women interested in STEM fields. As for ending the gender wage gap in general, the

UN's Platform of Champions, Lean In, and the National Organization for Women (NOW) all are involved in the fight to ensure not only that women are receiving equitable wages from their bosses, but also that they are receiving livable wages.

As for the drama unfolding in Kentucky, Arizona, and Oklahoma, they fortunately have the power of the union on their side and can coordinate a united front to demand better pay. It is my deep hope that they receive better, ample compensation for their services, and that especially in Oklahoma—where teachers have been rendered destitute—teachers can continue the education of tomorrow's voters. Overall, in the age of #MeToo, #TimesUp, and

#YesAllWomen, the third wave of feminism seeks to upend the Harvey Weinsteins and the Paul Ryans of the world in every aspect, great or small, and make them rue their misogyny. And when the women of the world are valued financially for their contributions to society, no matter how small they may seem, the fight to smash the patriarchy will seem a downhill slide. **IW**

*Ellie Sawyer graduated from Montana State University in 2016, with a degree in Fish and Wildlife Ecology. She plans on getting a Master's degree in Wildlife Biology/Ecology and working as a research professor. In the meantime, she works at Home Depot, where she continues to learn about the ongoing struggle between workers and bosses.*

*"Embarcadero" continues from page 8.*

and accused them of being Communist conspirators. Still nothing moved regardless of all force the bosses unleashed.

After slowly whittling at the strikers, the corrupt union officials succeeded in ending the general strike after four days, with only the longshoremen and sailors continuing on. The workers considered it a victory, though, as the bosses did not dare to use vigilantes, the police, or the National Guard to assault the picket line again. Soon after, the longshoremen and sailors returned to work on July 30. The long-

shoremen won wages of 95 cents an hour, \$1.40 an hour for overtime, a six-hour day, a thirty-hour week, and the union hall. The sailors won the recognition of the International Seaman's Union, but they didn't gain much, as it was a sell-out organization in the pockets of the bosses.

So what does this event tell me? It tells me something that the wealthy know all too well. It is something that we workers sometimes don't even realize—that their power and wealth rests on our backs. They are nothing without us. Why do you think the wealthy constantly try to convince

us that they love us? Why do you think they use racism to divide us? Why do you think they have built a massive security apparatus to spy on us including the NSA? Why do you think they have wiped out of our collective memory the history of labor movement? They are terrified of us and of what we think. They know we have the power to drag the Koch Brothers out of their mansions and turn those mansions into homeless shelters. **IW**

*Watch A Wave of Change: The 1934 West Coast Waterfront Strike at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7dJjTyDgqhQ>.*

*"From the Editor" continues from page 4.*

acted in those TV shows, that was their job. When my parents married, they took their shared love of music and performance and applied their voice training to the San Francisco Opera Chorus, and then, when they moved with my brother down the Peninsula to the suburbs, they gravitated into theater, where their talents and interests could find new ways to be expressed. My brother was in his first play at six, and I—five years younger than he is—performed in my first play at five.

Over the many years my family did plays and musicals at Hillbarn Theatre on the mid Peninsula and up in the Gold Country, I learned about different kinds of work that, though generally unpaid, was still work. It required commitment and discipline. Nearly everyone who acted in plays or worked backstage had a "day" job. Being in a play meant long hours, often away from family members.

I learned from those who were paid for working at Hillbarn—the Artistic Director,

Technical Director/Designer, and Costume Maker/Box Office Manager—about being in jobs that they loved and that provided them with income. Although union work didn't enter into much at Hillbarn, I learned about unions there. Bob and Sam—the Artistic Director and Tech Director/Designer—were on the faculty of the College of San Mateo, and for their work at Hillbarn they were paid as instructors (and everyone who was in a play registered and paid a small tuition). Bob and Sam were members of the California and American Federations of Teachers. And while I wasn't in a union, when I formally became Hillbarn's lighting designer and technician in the 1990s, I was paid for my designs.

My first crush was on a wonderful actor my parents worked with (my parents' age) who had what even a nine-year-old knew was "presence." George was a "Scavenger" who collected the garbage up and down the SF Peninsula. George also was one of the members of the cooperative that owned and operated the Scavengers. I learned very early on,

especially because my family always stayed for the credits in movie theaters and watched them on TV, that nearly everyone involved in making that movie or TV show belonged to a union. A number of the technical unions were named in the credits, and I found out what those initials stood for, because I was interested in knowing what they did.

I truly love what I'm doing as *IW*'s editor, and I hope I can do it for a long time. But I won't be able to if it goes back to being a newspaper. My disability limits me enough that I couldn't do more than four issues a year. Much of the pleasure I get out of the work has to do with the format, because I spend almost as much time on the graphics as I do working on the articles themselves.

I hope that those who see the purpose of *IW* differently than I do understand why I feel that the content that's gone into the issues since I've been editor has universal value. I hope workers in all fields can see what others do may not be what they do, but it's work and it's valuable. **IW**

# Marx's refusal of the Labor Theory of Value

By David Harvey

March 1, 2018

It is widely believed that Marx adapted the **labor theory of value** from [David] Ricardo [1772–1823] as a founding concept for his studies of capital accumulation. . . . But nowhere, in fact, did Marx declare his allegiance to the labor theory of value. That theory belonged to Ricardo, who recognized that it was deeply problematic even as he insisted that the question of value was critical to the study of political economy. On the few occasions where Marx comments directly on this matter, he refers to “**value theory**” and not to the labor theory of value. So what, then, was Marx’s distinctive value theory and how does it differ from the labor theory of value?

[In *Capital*,] Marx begins that work with an examination of the surface appearance of **use value** and **exchange value** in the material act of commodity exchange and posits the existence of value (an immaterial but objective relation) behind the quantitative aspect of exchange value. . . . **Money** thus enters the picture as a **material representation of value**. Value cannot exist without its representation. In chapters 4 through 6, Marx shows that it is only in a system where the aim and object of economic activity is commodity production that exchange becomes a necessary as well as a normal social act. It is the **circulation of money as capital** (chapter 5) that consolidates the conditions for the formation of **capital’s distinctive value form as a regulatory norm**. But the circulation of capital presupposes the prior existence of **wage labor as a commodity** that can be bought and sold in the market (chapter 6).

... The concept of **capital as a process**—as value in motion—based on the purchase of labor power and means of production is inextricably interwoven with the emergence of the value form. A simple but crude analogy for Marx’s argument might be this: the human body depends for its vitality upon the circulation of the blood, which has no being outside of the human body. The two phenomena are mutually constitutive of each other. **Value formation likewise cannot be understood outside of the circulation process that houses it**. The mutual interdependency within the totality of capital circulation is what matters. In

capital’s case, however, the process appears as not only self-reproducing (cyclical) but also self-expanding (the spiral form of accumulation). . . . Value thereby becomes an embedded regulatory norm in the sphere of exchange only **under conditions of capital accumulation**.

While the steps in the argument are



Karl Marx and David Harvey

complicated, . . . [t]he sophistication and elegance of the argument have seduced many of Marx’s followers to thinking this was the end of the story. It is in fact the beginning. Ricardo’s hope was that the labor theory of value would provide a basis for understanding price formation. . . . [But] Marx early on understood that this was an impossible hope[.] . . . In Volume 1 Marx recognizes that **things like conscience, honor, and uncultivated land can have a price but no value**. In Volume 3 of *Capital* he explores how the equalization of the rate of profit in the market would lead commodities to exchange not at their values but according to so-called “prices of production.”

But Marx was not primarily interested in price formation. He has a different agenda. Chapters 7 through 25 of Volume 1 describe in intricate detail the **consequences for the laborer of living and working in a world where the law of value**, as constituted through the generalization and normalization of exchange in the market place, **rules**. . . . And so we dive into “the hidden abode of production” where we shall see “not only how capital produces but, how capital is produced.” It is only here, also, that we will see how value forms.

The coercive laws of competition in the market force individual capitalists to **extend the working day to the utmost**, threatening the life and well-being of the laborer in the absence of any restraining force such as legislation to limit the length of the working day (chapter 10). In subsequent chapters, these same coercive laws push capital to **pursue technological and organizational innovations, to mobilize**

**and appropriate the laborers’ inherent powers of cooperation and of divisions of labor**, to design machinery and systems of factory production, to mobilize the powers of education, knowledge, science, and technology, **all in the pursuit of relative surplus value**. The aggregate effect (chapter 25) is to **diminish the status of the laborer, to create an industrial reserve army** [meaning disposable workers], to **enforce working conditions of abject misery and desperation** among the working classes and to condemn much of labor to **living under conditions of social reproduction that are miserable in the extreme**. . . .

But the productivity and intensity of labor are perpetually changing under pressures of competition in the market (as described in the later chapters of *Capital*). This means that the formulation of value in the first chapter of *Capital* is revolutionized by what comes later. **Value becomes an unstable and perpetually evolving inner connectivity** (an internal or dialectical relation) between value as defined in the realm of circulation in the market and value as **constantly being re-defined through revolutions in the realm of production**. . . . In Volume 3 of *Capital* Marx makes much of the impact of technological changes on values leading to the thesis on the falling rate of profit. . . .

The changing productivity of labor is, of course, a key feature in all forms of economic analysis. In Marx’s case, however, it is not the physical labor productivity emphasized in classical and neoclassical political economy that counts. It is **labor productivity with respect to surplus value production** that matters. This puts the internal relation between the pursuit of relative surplus value (through technological and organizational innovations) and market values at the center of Marx’s value theory. . . .

Marx describes the conditions of **social reproduction** [meaning **social inequality from one generation to the next**] of all those demoted into the **industrial reserve army** by the operation of the general law of capital accumulation. He cites official reports concerning public health in rural England . . . and other accounts of daily life in Ireland and Belgium, alongside [Friedrich] Engels’ account of *The Condition of the English Working Class* in 1844. The consensus of all these reports was that [the operation of the general law of

capital accumulation on] conditions of social reproduction for this segment of the working class were **worse than anything ever heard of under feudalism**.

Appalling conditions of nutrition, housing, education, overcrowding, gender relations, and perpetual displacement were exacerbated by punitive public welfare policies (most notably the Poor Laws in Britain). The distressing fact that nutrition among prisoners in jail was superior to that of the impoverished on the outside is noted (alas, this is still the case in the United States). This opens the path towards an important extension of Marx's value theory. The consequences of an intensification of capitalist competition in the market (including the search for relative surplus value through technological changes) produce deteriorating conditions of social reproduction for the working classes (or significant segments thereof) if no compensating forces or public policies are put in place to counteract such effects. . . .

Marx (*Capital*, Volume 1, p. 827) cites an **official report on the conditions of life** of the majority of workers in Belgium who find themselves forced "to live more economically than prisoners" in the jails. Such workers "adopt expedients whose secrets are only known (to them): they reduce their daily rations; they substitute rye bread for wheat; they eat less meat, or even none at all, and the same with butter and condiments; they content themselves with one or two rooms where the family is crammed together, where boys and girls sleep side by side, often on the same mattress; they economize on clothing, washing and

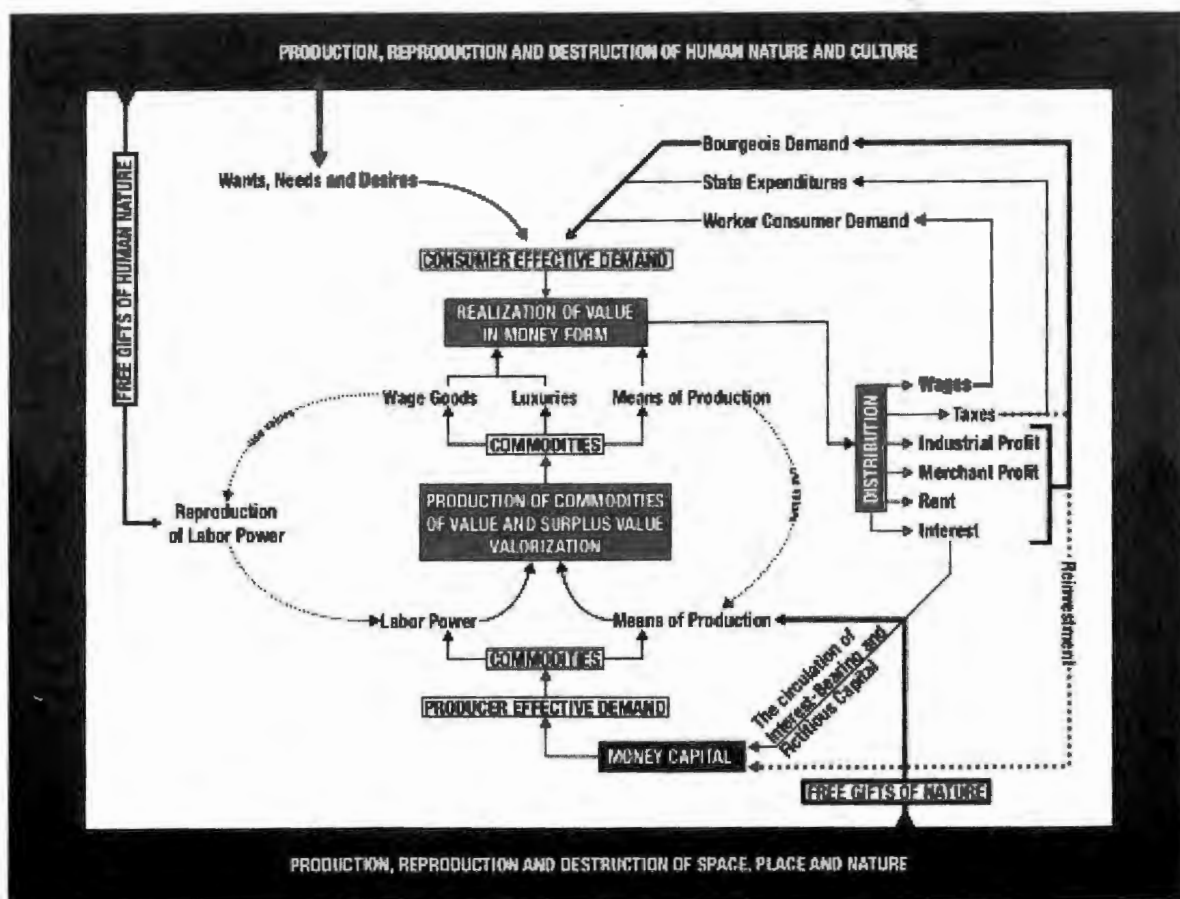
decency; they give up the diversions on Sunday; in short **they resign themselves to the most painful privations**. Once this extreme limit has been reached, the least rise in the price of food, the shortest stoppage of work, the slightest illness, increases the worker's distress and brings him to complete disaster: Debts accumulate, credit fails, the most necessary clothes and furniture are pawned, and finally the family asks to be enrolled on the list of paupers." . . . As Marx notes in Volume 2 of *Capital*, the real root of capitalist crises lies in the suppression of wages and the reduction of the mass of the population to the status of penniless paupers. **If there is no market there is no value**. The contradictions posed from the standpoint of social reproduction theory for values as realized in the market are multiple. If, for example, there are no healthy, educated, disciplined, and skilled laborers in the reserve army then it can no longer perform its role. . . .

[V]alue depends on the existence of wants, needs and desires backed by ability to pay in a population of consumers. . . . Without them, as Marx notes in the first chapter of *Capital*, there is no value. . . .

What happens, furthermore, in the presumption of perfect competition, the way to monopoly in general and monopolistic competition in particular, the spatial organization of capital accumulation poses another set of problems to be resolved within the value framework. . . .

Marx's value form, I conclude, is **not a still and stable fulcrum in capital's churning world** but a constantly changing and unstable metric being **pushed hither and thither by the anarchy of market exchange**, by revolutionary transformations in technologies and organizational forms, by unfolding practices of social reproduction, and massive transformations in the wants, needs, and desires of whole populations expressed through the cultures of everyday life. This is far beyond what Ricardo had in mind and equally far away from that conception of value usually attributed to Marx. **IW**

Thanks to David Harvey for allowing IW to publish an edited form of his article. Material is marked in bold by the editor. Read the entire very long article at <http://davidharvey.org/2018/03/marx-refusal-of-the-labour-theory-of-value-by-david-harvey/>



18

**Mar.**By David  
March 1, 2It is w  
the l  
Ri**Industrial Worker**PO Box 180195  
Chicago, IL 60618 USA  
ISSN 0019-8870**ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED****Periodicals Postage****PAID****Chicago, IL****Application for Membership  
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\$2,000 - 3,500 = \$22 per month	\$2,000 a 3,500 = \$22 por mes
Over \$3,500 = \$33 per month	Mas que \$3,500 = \$33 por mes
Initiation fee is equal to one month's dues.	Iniciación = cuota de un mes

For more information, please go to  
<https://www.iww.org/content/join-one-big-union>**Preamble to the IWW  
Constitution**

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

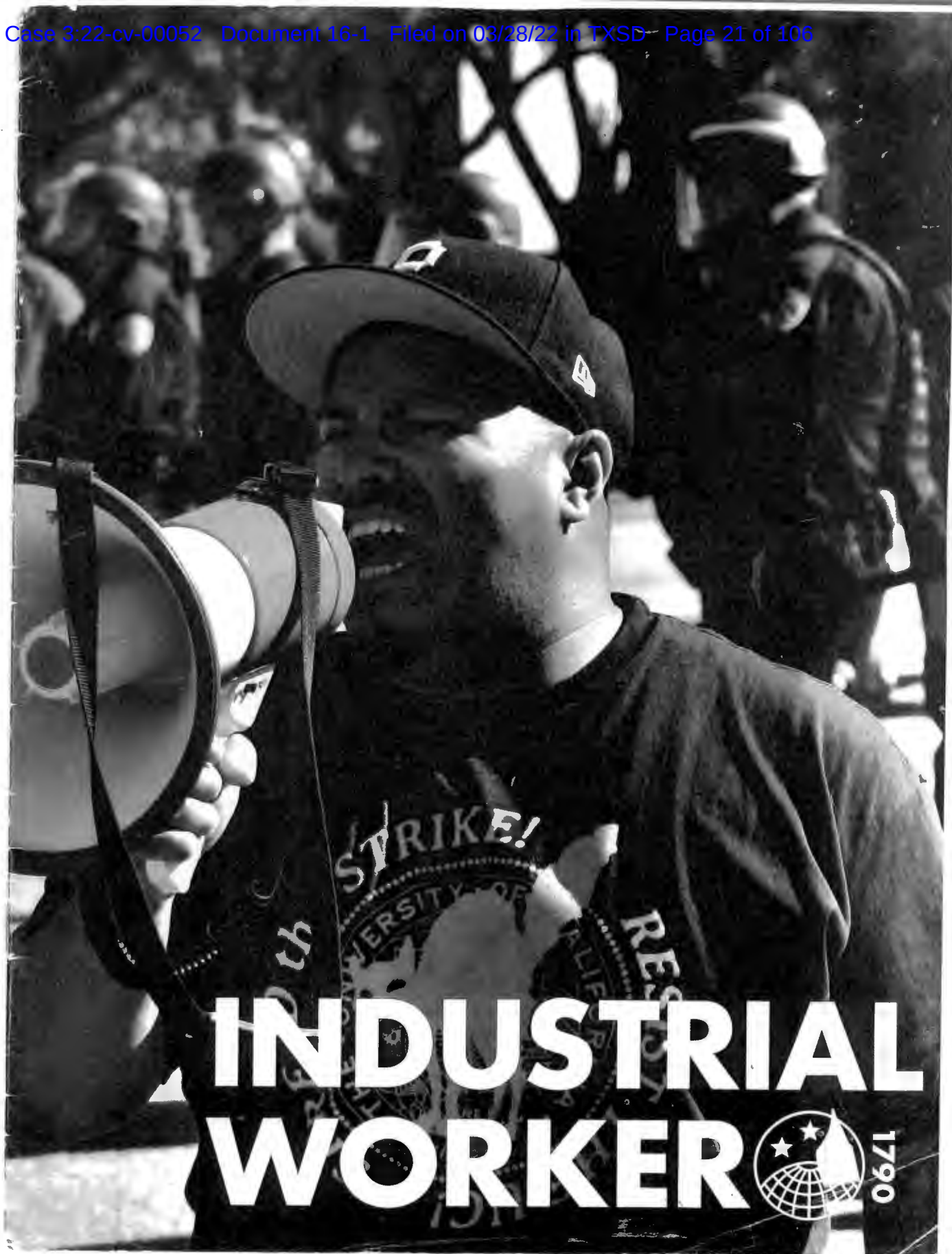
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs that allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



# INDUSTRIAL WORKER



1790



## IWW Shops Struggle for Worker Safety Amid Pandemic

### BVWU WORKERS ON STRIKE OVER UNSAFE WORKING CONDITIONS!

BVWU Facebook

Corporate has stripped the 92nd and Powell location down to a skeleton crew, making it IMPOSSIBLE to keep up necessary sanitary standards while working during a pandemic. As Burgerville corporate refuses to listen to serious safety concerns and are instead focused solely on cutting costs, workers have decided to go on a one-day strike to stand up for public health.

Workers also spoke out in support of the BVWU's demands for \$2 an hour in hazard pay, 2 weeks severance pay in the event of layoffs, and 2 weeks of paid sick time to make sure those who fall ill can stay home. Workers shouldn't have to pay the price of this disaster, and Burgerville needs to start putting our communities over their profit.

#### ROBERT'S STORY

I began working at Burgerville a few months ago. As a drive-thru cashier, my work was tiring, but I appreciated being able to make small talk with hundreds of people a day. The prospect of getting healthcare was very exciting to me too, as a type 1 diabetic. The price of insulin is quite high. Without insulin, I will die.

As the Coronavirus epidemic emerged, I continued to work at probably the most dangerous position at the restaurant without increase in pay. I figured it would be worth it once I had worked enough hours to qualify for health insurance and sick leave. My requests to be provided with an N95 mask were repeatedly denied.

Unfortunately, I was furloughed for unspecified reasons, and now I worry it'll take another 6 months of work to qualify for health insurance, if and when I ever get rehired.

That's why I joined with my coworkers to deliver a petition about why this past week of being kept in the dark and told to wait was so frustrating and why the workers still working deserve hazard pay and sick time and we deserve severance for being furloughed.

### CAPTTEL WORKERS TAKE ACTION

Published by Organizing.Work

<https://organizing.work/2020/03/overburdened-by-the-covid-19-crisis-call-center-workers-take-action/>

CapTel is a nationwide company that provides text telephone captions for the hearing impaired. Workers in the Madison and Milwaukee call centers have been organizing with the IWW since 2012. The coronavirus crisis has led to a massive increase in workload. Here, a worker describes an action taken last week in protest of workload and in support of their ongoing demand for \$15 an hour.

It quickly became apparent something drastic had to be done.

But, of course, as far as the boss was concerned, things could not have been rosier. Profits were rolling in from a staff working beyond capacity, with none of the customary gaps between calls to reset and regroup, like a Sisyphean purgatory. They were capitalizing on a pandemic.

They feigned compassion by suspending the "points" that we would normally accrue for absences, essentially promising to not punish us if we became infected with COVID-19, then barricaded themselves in their offices. It really was the least they could do.

The workers, however, understood how to use this fractional concession for maximum impact.

We held to our ongoing demand, the fight for \$15 an hour.

So with no time to lose, we planned a multi-call center call-out. We figured if we recruited a few dozen participants, it would be big enough to make a bold statement.

On Saturday, March 13th, we set the date and started texting, phone banking, and approaching our fellow captionists in person. We chose Wednesday, March 18th, the day after St. Patrick's, to plump our numbers with those who would call out to recover from the previous evening's celebration.

With the entire staff constantly captioning, everyone we asked was emotionally drained, fed up, and ready to make a difference.

Several dozen from Milwaukee and Madison joined together in solidarity and called out — almost everyone we asked, including some who sacrificed a perfect attendance bonus, with the biggest absence of workers during the peak period of noon to 3 pm. With only a few days' planning, our action was an enormous success.

We posted a warning and stern reminder of our demands on our committee Facebook page 24 hours prior, that without immediate action on CapTel's part, a mass call-out was to be expected.

I reported for my regular shift the following day, Thursday, March 19th, greeted by gossipy chatter about the sickout from the supervisors, who immediately clammed up when they turned around and saw me standing there. Even their spiteful catininess warmed my heart, as I knew we had got our message across.

As of yet, however, nothing had changed.

Then late the next day, a memo came out.

They recognized the increasing stress and gave us an additional fifteen minute break or "aux" per shift — time we are allowed to be off the phone, but still on the clock (i.e. paid).

Mind you, this was not the victory we sought, but it was a victory nonetheless. And after so many years of the dismissive attitudes of the administration towards the workers, every acknowledgement, every nibble, is an impetus to further action, a re-energizing of belief in what we can do when we do it together. CapTel workers scored two more significant victories: an "appreciation bonus" of up to \$300 for work performed earlier this month, and an additional \$2/hour in "emergency pay" going forward.

## INDUSTRIAL WORKER



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## IWW WORKERS AT CHICAGO GROCERY WIN HAZARD PAY

### MARIANNE GARNEAU

Published by Organizing.Work

<https://organizing.work/2020/04/grocery-workers-win-hazard-pay/>

Last month, workers at a grocery in Chicago submitted a petition for hazard pay, and won.

Workers asked for \$2 an hour in addition to their regular wages.

Previously, management had indicated they would receive hazard pay of \$1.50 an hour, effective March 30. However, staff were reluctant to trust management's promises. As John, a grocery stocker says, "they have a lot of empty talk, like 'we might give you guys hazard pay, or we might give you guys bonuses,' but they never really come through with any of it."

Moreover, workers discovered a memo from the store's parent organization recommending \$2 an hour.

They took the initiative to put together their own demand. They researched what other grocery workers were getting, and took inspiration from an online petition on behalf of Trader Joe's employees. After drafting a letter, they quickly gathered signatures from over a third of workers, and then emailed it to management from an anonymous staff email account on Wednesday.

Immediately, management called an all-staff meeting. At the meeting, they announced staff would be getting \$2 an hour in hazard pay retroactive to March 11.

John says it was clearly a union win: "They pretended that the \$2 figure that we had demanded was their idea, and it absolutely was not. They were gritting their teeth with \$1.50. And they came out of the gate in the meeting with the \$2 figure."

However, they ignored the two other demands, for bonuses and "store closure pay," which is pay in the event the store is temporarily closed for cleaning by the Department of Health, if a staff member tests positive for COVID-19.

### WORKER DEMOCRACY

Workers are represented by the IWW, which won an NLRB election in 2017. However, immediately following the election, the store expanded significantly, from some 7 to 40 employees. While management slow-walked the union and retaliated against union members, organizing efforts petered out. More recently, however, interest in the union has been rekindled, first by the hiring of a new general manager. "We started to realize her faults," says Jay, a buyer, including "a lack of communication and transparency. She's made so many decisions without consulting any staff members, the people her decisions actually affect." Jay says the pandemic "was like the icing on the cake." Several people recently signed up with the union, and more are participating in union meetings, some of which take place in person, with an ongoing conversation taking place via text messaging app.

Asked how the union functions, Jay responds, "Democratically. I ask the group, 'what does everyone think about this?' and we all kind of agree on the best plan of action. All of our voices are being heard. Unlike in the workplace." As the union effort ramps back up, they are looking to elect officers and formalize their organization.

### THE FIGHT CONTINUES

Going forward, workers have more battles to fight. John says "They keep saying we're going to get extra PTO if we feel ill, or even if we feel like we need to stay away. But they never even give us our regular PTO."

Jay says management has also suggested "we pool our PTO together as staff," and then laughs. "Why should we have to use our resources? It should be the employer who foots the bill."

This is of urgent concern for workers now deemed "essential," who find themselves on the frontlines of the pandemic. "Our cashiers have to handle every item that every shopper touches," John notes. "They stand there all day and have face-to-face interactions with customers."

Jay adds that "We're right off of the blue line train, which is the O'Hare [airport] train service, and we get so many customers coming in through the door." They note that for the past two weeks, since Illinois began taking measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19, the grocery store "has been a madhouse," with lines snaking through the store. "It's terrifying. We're risking not only our health but our loved ones' lives. We don't know the long-term effects of COVID-19. We go in assuming that we all have [it] because we're in contact with so many people."

Reflecting on the hazard pay campaign, Jay says "It's a win but it's not enough." Workers still have issues with scheduling and unjust terminations, let alone dealing with the pandemic. They have formally reached out to management to negotiate further on matters of health and safety, but have yet to hear back. "We want to democratically dialogue with our management, and they are refusing to hear our voices or acknowledge that the union really exists."

In the meantime, they have learned that essential workers have significant leverage in the workplace: their direct action proved immediately successful.

<https://itgoingdown.org/chicago-iww-grocery-store-workers-protest/>

Lastly, in recent communications with Dill Pickle member-owners, the Dill Pickle Board of Directors & Management have stated that they support workers' right to unionize, insinuating that Dill Pickle workers are not yet represented by a union. However, The Dill Pickle Food Co-Op has been represented by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) since March 27th, 2017, when workers at the time voted for the IWW to represent them as their union. Despite recent actions, where a clear majority of workers have shown interest in union representation, management continues to ignore their requests to bargain and to recognize their NLRB union certification.

## IN PANDEMIC-HIT SERVICE INDUSTRY, UNION STAFF AT ELLEN'S STARDUST DINER SHOW A WAY FORWARD

BRENDAN MASLAUSKAS DUNN

Published in The Independent

<https://independent.org/2020/04/in-pandemic-hit-service-industry-union-staff-at-ellens-stardust-diner-show-a-way-forward/>

As the pandemic spread and New York City became the global epicenter of the coronavirus, the restaurant industry was jolted with shutdowns, closures, furloughs and mass layoffs. Ellen's Stardust Diner, a destination for tourists who want to experience the musical allure of Broadway while eating classic diner food served by singing waiters, was not immune. On March 17, the diner closed its doors and all of Ellen's 200-plus employees were furloughed.

At other restaurants and under different circumstances, the workers might have been left to fend for themselves. But at Ellen's Stardust Diner, things are different.

In 2016, workers came together and formed a union with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Stardust Family United. Their organizing model: militant, worker-led, solidarity unionism. In short, solidarity unionism is when workers themselves take collective direct action and build power from the bottom up, rather than without relying on labor bureaucrats, attorneys or grievance procedures. The Stardusters, as they call themselves, live by the old Wobbly slogan, "We are all leaders."

Zach Snyder — who has worked just about everywhere in the restaurant industry, "from McDonalds to Burger King, to high-end catering and fine dining" — joined the union shortly after he started working at Ellen's.

"What set me on fire was that there was one day where I was supposed to have a tip-out from training because I helped so much with a party there," he recalls. "But when I went to get the money, it wasn't there. Coworkers said, 'We put it in an envelope and gave it to management like we normally do.'" He heard of events similar to this occurring previously. Now, it was happening to him. "I immediately said, 'I can't let this happen again,' and I wanted to join the union." It was a case of wage theft! Immediately I said, 'No, I'm not doing this,' and I wanted to join the union."

Snyder became deeply involved with the IWW: attending meetings, serving as an officer, organizing singing pickets, staging collective protests in the diner and participating in sit-ins against wage theft, all in an effort to improve working conditions.

"The restaurant doesn't have our backs. The union has our backs," Snyder said. He continued that "The union has always provided a louder voice for people. And in addressing and fixing problems in the workplace that can be overlooked."

When he and his colleagues approached their bosses about setting up a relief fund to aid workers at the iconic diner most in need, he says management declined and insisted that "the diner can't get involved."

After a Zoom meeting, the Stardusters decided to form an employee relief fund on their own, voting initially to donate \$2,000 of their dues money to it. They struck up a committee to administer the fund and established a GoFundMe page to collect donations.

While work was already precarious for many workers at Ellen's before the spread of COVID-19, that precarity has been amplified by the pandemic, coupled with an economy teetering on the edge. While some of the workers are currently receiving unemployment, many have been unable to claim the benefit or do not qualify for the assistance to begin with.

"We will not be able to pay [rent] for the month of May," says a member of Ellen's kitchen staff, speaking on condition of anonymity. "We do not know what to do. The consulate of our country is not working, our situation is really sad and discouraging. We hope, we hope, and we ask God that [relief comes] soon. But in these difficult times, those of us who are not eligible to obtain any support from the government, we can only appeal to the good heart of the people who can lend us a hand."

And that is precisely what the Wobblies in Stardust Family United are doing, regardless of whether

Ellen's staff are members of the union or not. Their original plan was to raise \$25,000 but they recently doubled the number as more support came in.

The Stardusters hope the fact that the funds will be available even for those who are not in the union might lead some of their fellow workers to see that it is their coworkers and the union, not their bosses, who are there for them. Some may in turn join the IWW. "We as a Union will always be willing to help," said Snyder. It is clear that the union stepped up to fill the needs of workers in a void created by management.

Meanwhile, participation in union meetings has gone up and the Wobblies are preparing for a very uncertain future but are still poised for action as the need arises.

"Right now, our mentality with the union and the restaurant is that no news is good news," says Snyder, though he and the union worry that the pandemic may cause longer furloughs and serious effects to work availability. "We are hopeful that after the pandemic subsides that we can return to work as quickly and safely, as possible with all staff in place. We will continue to carry out actions to help each of our coworkers in need as conditions evolve."

Despite the difficulties of living under a pandemic, the union is happy to report that so far all is well within the diner and camaraderie is high. However, recent history looms large over management at Ellen's, causing some to wonder if the bosses may hesitate to offer employment to all of the workers. When the company launched a union-busting campaign in 2016, firing 31 workers in the process, the singing waiters fought back with a vengeance. New hires, Snyder included, joined the IWW, swelling the ranks of the union. After a prolonged campaign that combined singing pickets and protests inside the diner along with legal action, the let-go staff were reinstated and together received nearly \$500,000 in back pay.

So far the Stardusters Relief Fund has raised over \$23,000. To thank their supporters union members made a series of "socially distant" performances online to thank them and sang popular songs from Broadway musicals *Les Misérables* and *Frozen*. But what's next for Stardust Family United? As the service industry slowly, and perhaps prematurely, opening up, the workers are bracing for what lies ahead. Snyder and his coworkers are planning to keep organizing, one conversation and one action at a time.

## **DONATE TO THE FREELANCE JOURNALISTS CONTRIBUTORS FUND!**

**PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION 450**

<https://www.gofundme.com/f/industrial-worker-contributors-fund>



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## **Support Working Class Publishing!** EDITORIAL COMMITTEE AND FJU

Industrial Worker is the official publication of the Industrial Workers of the World, a member-run union for all workers. Since 1907, IW has been "the voice of revolutionary industrial unionism," run by the working class for the purpose of working class emancipation. Today, IW is a quarterly print publication and blog. We dedicate this issue to the workers of the world who have fallen ill, some fatally, from Sars-Cov-2 Covid-19. This wretched disease, catastrophic to even healthy individuals, is exacting a toll upon humanity and teaching us a thing or two in the process. We emerge with hope and determination to carry forth towards the commonwealth of labor. Mother Jones told us, "Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living!" Fred Thompson, previous editor of the IW, had a saying: "Let's Make This Planet a Good Place to Live!"

This crisis has completely short-circuited and rewired the entire world's economy, and therefore the relationship (or, struggle) between capital and labor. Hundreds of Millions are unemployed globally—the services, travel, and hospitality industries have nearly been obliterated.

A global pandemic, in a global capitalist system, invites critique of the entire system. To illustrate the magnitude of the economic effect, take this: The financial shock brought nearly 6 Trillion USD in fiscal stimulus; created with the click of a mouse - lent to "primary dealers". The overnight backstop of financial markets would be expected in any crisis; although the same urgency has not been applied to critical shortages of PPE and the broken state of healthcare systems. The health and safety of the working class (and therefore, humanity writ large) takes second fiddle to the capitalists' pockets: Our society has essentially privatized all profits and socialized all losses. It is as important to support one another's struggles now more than ever. If you can make a contribution—help the work along!

We requested an extension of our budget to get every member mailed one free copy of this issue. If you like what you see - subscribe! When paying dues, purchase a Press Assessment to support the Industrial Worker. IWWs pay wholesale price for the Industrial Worker—order a bundle and get them in your local bookstore or coffee shop - you may keep or donate the commission to your branch or organizing project!

Like the IWW at large, IW has traditionally relied on volunteer labor. But as the economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic continues, IW recognizes that many freelance journalists are suddenly having commissioned stories killed and future opportunities evaporate. In order to support these workers, IW is collaborating with the IWW Freelance Journalists Union to raise and disburse funds to compensate its contributors.

For every \$100 raised, IW and the IWW FJU will be able to immediately pay an honorarium for one article—contributors have no need to wait for publication. While we acknowledge that this falls woefully short of a living wage, we hope that this represents a starting point from which we can increase rates in the future

### **FOR FREELANCE JOURNALISTS:**

To pitch IW, email [iw@iww.org](mailto:iw@iww.org). If your pitch is accepted by a member of the IW editorial committee, simply forward that acceptance email to [freelancejournalists@iww.org](mailto:freelancejournalists@iww.org) to receive a \$100 payment from the IWW FJU via PayPal. (Unfortunately the IWW FJU is only able to send payments via PayPal at this time.)

# Freelancers resist precarity by sharing rates and organizing.

For many workers, openness about pay has helped to make conditions more equitable. Still, they fear retribution.

ELIZABETH KING

Published in the Columbia Review of Journalism

[https://www.cjr.org/special\\_report/rate-sharing.php](https://www.cjr.org/special_report/rate-sharing.php)

## IN JUNE 2019,

Daisy Alioto, now the audience development manager for the New York Review of Books, tweeted that she had learned through freelance-journalists network Study Hall of a Vox contract explicitly forbidding freelance writers from discussing rates. The Freelance Journalists Union asked for Vox freelancers to privately share the rates Vox verticals paid them. The union then anonymized—and finally tweeted—around 100 different submissions, some of which revealed pay disparities for similar work. In mid-August, Vox distributed a new freelance contract without a provision restricting rate sharing. Rate sharing is a popular practice in Study Hall, founded in 2015 by journalist Enav Moskowitz and writer Kyle Chayka. Study Hall keeps a member-updated database of editors' contact information and rates writers were paid at various outlets. Members of the organization also share their rates on a one-off basis in the group's listserv and Slack, according to Erin Corbett, who has written for The Nation and VICE and works as a Study Hall administrator. The practice, Corbett adds, is especially beneficial to "writers who wouldn't normally ask for more money."

A few like-minded labor organizations for freelance journalists and writers have emerged more recently: in the spring of 2018, the National Writers Union (NWU), launched the Freelance Solidarity Project; and just last year, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) established the FJU (of which I am a member). Each of these entities encourages writers to disclose rates, and helps share them widely.

Even in non-unionized workplaces, employees are legally protected if they want to discuss their pay with colleagues. Nevertheless, they are often discouraged from doing so, and so sharing rates is still considered risky or taboo. "We are discouraged from sharing rates because money is such a touchy subject, and that only benefits the people at the top," says freelance journalist Taylor Moore, who has bylines at CityLab and LitHub, among others. Just before the end of 2019, Moore shared highlights from her year's work on Twitter, along with the rate of pay for each one; a number of other journalists did the same. Knowing the rates offered by different outlets helps writers negotiate pay. Bradley Babendir, a freelance book critic who has been published in NPR and the now-defunct Pacific Standard, says that, as a result of seeing another writer post on social media that they were paid \$1 per word for an article Medium published, he knew to ask for that rate when he successfully pitched the same outlet. Corbett says that rate transparency was especially helpful early on in her career, when she didn't have an idea of what rates were fair to ask for.

*"As publications shutter and the labor market fills with ever more writers living assignment to assignment, freelance journalists and writers have begun more earnestly seeking organized labor protections for their precarious situations, and rate-sharing is a cornerstone of that effort."*



Journalists have shared critical information about rates among themselves—through whisper networks, private databases in Facebook groups and among unions, and public, anonymous databases such as the website Who Pays Writers—for many years. But industry-wide turmoil makes this a particularly perilous moment for freelancers: newsrooms laid off thousands of workers (some of them non-editorial) last year, and a Pew Research Center report from July found that newsroom employment had plunged by 25 percent between 2008 and 2018. As publications shutter and the labor market fills with ever more writers living assignment to assignment, freelance journalists and writers have begun more earnestly seeking organized-labor protections for their precarious situations, and rate-sharing is a cornerstone of that effort. Chris Roberts, a freelance journalist with bylines in The Guardian, VICE, and The Verge—and a member of multiple freelancers' unions—says there seem to be more freelance journalists and writers publicly sharing their rates in the recent past. Rate sharing,

Roberts says, "has been much more vocal and open, and it's happening in an era where there are multiple unions encouraging this kind of openness and transparency."

Still, while this openness has helped to make conditions for some workers more equitable, freelancers fear retribution. "Writers are scared of editors seeing them differently or refusing to work with them or being punished in another way because people are upset that they disclosed their rate," says Babendir. Fear of retribution "seems to me like a rational reaction to a scary situation, but that's why solidarity is so important."

For many, rate-sharing is also a means to an end greater than personal enrichment. In particular, freelancers who spoke to CJR shared concerns around addressing pay disparities for women and Black writers.

Najma Sharif, who has written for Fader and Playboy, says that rate transparency "sets a standard, especially white men and white women sharing their rates, so I can be like, 'Hey why are outlets paying me so little, what's going on here?'" Sharif says the next step is for freelancers to break down pay disparities between writers in terms of identities and try to determine industry-wide rates.

There are few studies of who exactly makes up the freelance journalism workforce. In fact, a 2017 survey about freelance writers from the job website Freelance Writing "made the decision not to ask" writers about their race, gender, or age. It's information that labor representatives agree would be worthwhile, but compiling data about rates and writers' backgrounds—let alone analyzing it—is a daunting undertaking, especially for relatively young organizations. Efforts to establish more rate transparency and secure fairer rates for freelance journalists also lends itself to organizing around better payment processes. Colleen Tighe, a member of the NWU's Freelance Solidarity Project and an illustrator, says that the Project is having "a lot of the discussions about things like working on retainer, or getting upfront fees, and figuring out the logistics of receiving money" in a timely manner. A large and growing faction of freelancers believe that they can counter this sort of unfairness through solidarity. "As a writer I was sort of conditioned to think the pay is going to be shit," Roberts says. "It's a raw deal you get in exchange for this maybe-preferable lifestyle, [but] the only reason that's how it is is because too many people accept it."



**Wildcat Strikes Spread at the Unive**

We are University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC) graduate students on a wildcat strike. Fighting for a Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA), we have been withholding our labor since December 2019. Graduate student workers at 10 UC campuses across the state receive the same wages—\$2,434 a month, which after taxes amounts to just under \$19,000 a year, given that we are only paid for 9 months. In Santa Cruz, one of the most expensive cities in the country, this wage is not livable, so we demand an additional monthly payment to account for the exorbitant cost of living and cost of rent.

#### WILDCAT MILITANCY

In 2018, UAW Local 2865, representing student workers across all University of California campuses, settled for a contract that UCSC membership overwhelmingly voted against. 3 percent annual wage increase guaranteed by the contract fell far short of dealing with the cost of living in Santa Cruz, so local rank and file members organized a campus specific COLA campaign. Despite the no-strike clause, student workers voted to withhold their labor to win their demand.

The strike is not led by union officials, state and local politicians, aspiring managers, or by those who employ the jargon of radicalism so as to further the agenda of the administration. The strike is led by rank and file graduate workers. Together with supportive faculty, undergraduate students, staff, and community members, strikers engaged in a variety of disruptive militant actions that effectively shut-down and disrupted University operation.

At other UC campuses, the demands of the UCSC strike have caught fire. On February 27, before letters of termination were sent out, UCSB grads went on a full teaching strike and UC Davis grads went on a grading strike. All other UC campuses are organizing in solidarity with fired workers and for their own COLAs.

#### UC AND UNION BUSTING

Instead of addressing the Cost of Living issue, the administration is set on breaking the strike to return to the status quo. The UCSC administration

responded to our demand with discipline, intimidation, heavy policing, an Unlawful Labor Practice charge against UAW, and even a bribe—a small housing stipend only available to students not engaged in strike activities. The latest escalation on the part of the administration came on February 28, when over 80 strikers were fired from their upcoming teaching appointments for participating in the labor action.

UCSC refuses to see COLA as a labor issue and rejects our demand to bargain for a livable wage. The administration insists that we are students first, and workers second, and if we were to get more support, it would be given to us as students. The reason for this arbitrary distinction is the UC's unwillingness to set a labor precedent for settling a wildcat strike through a side letter to a contract—a solution we, as strikers, are pushing for.

#### STUDENTS AS WORKERS

Graduate students are workers. Waged and unwaged labor that graduate students provide is essential to the operations of the university: we do the majority of teaching, grading, mentoring, tutoring, running labs, writing, publishing, etc. When we account for all the labor graduate students provide to the university, it quickly amounts to 60-80 hours a week. We should be fairly compensated for our labor. Rank and file UAW members, auto-workers from all over the country, some of whom donated to our strike fund, sent us supportive messages and pizzas, see us as fellow workers, while the University does not.

We understand the COLA movement in the context of a strike wage in education. Just as teachers in Oakland, Los Angeles, and West Virginia, all of whom endorsed our strike, we are organizing and taking collective action to have greater control over our workplaces and learning environments. We are fighting back against austerity and budget cuts. We are fighting against racist policies that increase funding for police on campuses but don't reduce the cost of textbooks or tuition. We are fighting for equal access to the vocation of teaching and researching. We want to see an academy that is accessible to indigenous, black and students of color, trans and queer, undocumented and international, disabled and poor students. All people deserve the opportunity to teach and learn in community, not just those whose family can subsidize their graduate education. Until then, we strike!

The pandemic obliterated our familiar methods of in-person organizing. Our new working conditions in the age of COVID-19 are forcing us to reconsider our tactical choices. We must continue to organize for the COLA we all need, but it is time to re-evaluate our collective power and recalibrate our tactical horizons.

To that end, COLA organizers at UC Santa Cruz will agitate in the coming weeks for the authorization of our union's statewide ULP strike. Our union, UAW 2865, has filed multiple Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) charges against the UC, including for its summary firing of over 80

wildcat strikers at UCSC, and for its refusal to bargain directly with the union over COLA. These unjust practices are severe enough that UAW's statewide Bargaining Team is prepared to call an official strike, but only if enough union members are ready to withhold their labor when the call comes. The UAW's current position on settlement for these ULP charges includes a raise to \$40,000 per year for graduate student workers.

The current crisis conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic compound our precarious living conditions. In the thick of this crisis and the uneven distribution of its effects, the demand for a COLA is the demand to survive. We want to struggle, as workers all over the world are now struggling, with a renewed urgency. Our strongest position, at present, is to negotiate during a statewide sanctioned strike.

Make no mistake: the possibility of a ULP strike is a concrete victory in the COLA movement, and a genuine victory of the wildcat strike. Whereas we, as rank and file workers, once stood far ahead of the union, the union is now beginning to catch up to us. We are now well placed to combine our rank and file militancy with the union's considerable resources and legal protections. What we have always said nonetheless remains true: only Santa Cruz wildcats (and now wildcats at other campuses) decide when to submit grades, and under what circumstances.

All of us have faced enormous uncertainty over the past months. Now, more than ever, is the time to build our collective strength to fight for a future full of security and certainty.



## Fred Fro Google

By KATHRYN SPIERS

I was at Google for just under 2 years. I worked on the Platform Security team, focusing on Chrome's use within Google. Part of my job was to write browser notifications so that my coworkers can be automatically notified of employee guidelines and company policies while they surf the web. I was very good at my job and Google has acknowledged this. My last three performance reviews have gone, 4/5 stars ("strongly exceeds" in Google internal language), 4/5 stars, 5/5 stars ("superb" in internal language, and to give some context to this: only 2% of Google workers get 5/5 rating each review cycle). Two months ago when I received 5/5 stars I was also promoted as part of my role as a security engineer (from L2 to L3 in internal Google language).

Part of what makes me a great fit for Google is that the company is always telling us to take initiative to deliver high impact work. Recently Google was forced to post a list of rights that we have in the workplace. So when I heard that Google had hired a union busting firm and started illegally retaliating against my coworkers, I decided to make sure that my coworkers knew about the posting. I created a little notification, only a few lines of code, that pops up in the corner of the browser whenever my coworkers visited the union busters' website or the community guidelines policy. The notification said: "Googlers have the right to participate in protected concerted activities."

This kind of code change happens all the time. We frequently add things to make our jobs easier or even to just share hobbies or interests. For example, someone changed the default desktop wallpaper during the walkout last year so that the Linux penguin was holding a protest sign. The company has never reacted aggressively in response to a notification such as this in the past. It's always been a celebrated part of the culture.

During my time on the security team, I've had many conversations about the importance of maintaining user trust. My code — a small notification about employee rights — does not reduce trust. What does is the Director of Detection and Response signing a letter falsely accusing four of my coworkers. Or the fact that upper management is trying to use the security team to investigate employees and their organizing activity. A less transparent Google is a less trustworthy Google.

Google's response to this was to suspend me immediately and without warning. This was the week of Thanksgiving, the same day they fired the Thanksgiving Four. They also dragged me into three separate interrogations with very little warning each time. I was interrogated about separate other organizing activities, and asked (eight times) if I had an intention to disrupt the workplace. The interrogations were extremely aggressive and illegal. They wouldn't let me consult with anyone, including a lawyer, and relentlessly pressured me to incriminate myself and any coworkers I had talked to about exercising my rights at work. On Friday, December 13 my interrogator called me to tell me that I was being terminated for violating Google's security policies. I asked him how I violated the security policies but he told me that he wouldn't answer that question. On top of this unbridled fury from the company, this is happening right before the holidays. Instead of a joyful celebration of my recent promotion and hard work, I am stunned and hurt while I scramble to find a new job and clear my name. Google has overreacted in an egregious, illegal, and discriminatory manner. The notification I wrote had no negative effect on our users or other employees and Google will do its best to justify my firing in a way that pits workers against each other but they can't hide behind this fabricated logic forever.

This doesn't just affect me. The company is too powerful and they must be held accountable. As long as the company can treat me this way they can treat anyone this way. Workers need a voice in the company. We need to protect each other and stand together as a unit. What I did is entirely consistent with Google's mission of organizing the world's information and making it universally accessible and useful. I changed code as part of my job, which was part of a long track record of excellent work that I did for the company. Google is resorting to firing those of us who organize and assert our collective voice because it is afraid. For a company that holds personal information about billions of people's lives, the company is afraid of its workers even knowing their own legal rights to organize to hold the company accountable. I encourage everyone in tech to stop giving management the benefit of the doubt, to join unions, and continue to organize to protect our users, our communities, and ourselves.

## "Lessons" of IWW Organizing Won't Stay Put BY J. PIERCE

This past summer, I was sitting in a Phoenix cafe trying to explain the IWW's views on contracts to a newer member with lots of experience organizing for the business unions. He wanted to know how the IWW is different and what exactly is our organizing method. My comment to him was, "The beginning of the debate around contracts, starting in the early 2000s, is actually more helpful than the later 'revelations' of the current era." By that I meant that Alexis Buss' "Minority Report" and later "Solidarity Unionism" columns in the *Industrial Worker* were about trying to figure out how to take advantage of the good things about contracts without being dragged down by the bad parts. I think this is still how we should view them. In other words, the beginning of our experiment is more useful than the purported results.

Starting in the mid 2000s, there grew a fervor about how contracts were the exact OPPOSITE of what the IWW stood for. With contracts often being something unions grovel for, the result, if you can get one, is a document enshrining the rights of the employer and the limitations placed upon the workers. We developed a whole ideology about how Solidarity Unionism in the workplace was the only and best method to wage the class war. And we were right. Solidarity Unionism was a revelation. Starbucks workers in Chicago won three city-wide pay raises and the Starbucks Workers Union as a whole, led by the NYC members, won holiday pay for Martin Luther King Jr. Day company-wide. Wobblies applied direct action tactics and our new method repeatedly for over a decade, all over the continent. The IWW was making history with Solidarity Unionism.

### STARDUST AND STABILITY

Currently, and for the past several years, Stardust Family United in New York has been a shining example of the power of Solidarity Unionism. They march on the bosses, use creative direct actions to 'condition the job', and are winning concessions on a regular basis. They've beaten back the bosses at every turn and have grown powerful, aware of their own strength. They are living proof that Solidarity Unionism is far superior to being strangled by a legal document of the boss' design. Because of these victories, however, I am sure that I am not the only Wobbly that desperately wants our NYC fellow workers to enshrine their gains legally.

Stardust is ongoing proof but they are virtually our only proof. The organizers are in full gear, the committee is functioning, and the job actions are working. But what happens when our organizers burn out? When the main activists quit or move away? When the workers get tired and just can't keep fighting? What happens, typically, is that the union disappears.

Our best IWW organizing efforts in so many industries are virtually gone: Jimmy John's, Starbucks, Whole Foods. As for our Industrial Networks, we can't seem to keep them going: Freight Truckers, Construction Workers, Education Workers, Municipal Transport and Messengers, Food and Retail Workers, to name just a few, are all ghosts to the current membership. Why can't we get something permanent?

My closest IWW friend once hinted to the possibility of using a contract in conjunction with Solidarity Unionism. "If only we had secured just one contract at a shop in the industry," he lamented. "Then we could use that one shop as a base, a fortress from which to attack the rest of the industry. Then we could recruit organizers from that shop and use all kinds of non-contractual strategies in the rest of the industry, but our base would not just disappear." He may or may not still believe this - but I was sold. We have to forge a new new method to make sure our organizing doesn't just vanish. But this newer method needs the freedom to use strategies and tactics that contracts invariably prohibit.

### THE CASE OF AUTOMATIC DUES

A tangential case to illustrate my point is automatic dues. Two decades ago a visionary IWW organizer in Portland set up automatic dues from members' bank accounts directly to the Branch. He argued that it was a big waste of time going around doing all this paperwork when we could have a steady income instead. "If the IWW traditionalists can't see the future, well that's on them," was his thinking. The Branch basically skinned him alive for this. "The Delegate system of individual contact is the ONLY way to ensure democratic practices and accountability." Well, both perspectives are true.

Someone can now pay dues to the IWW for years and no one has to interact with them or meet with them or even thank them. Automatic dues is certainly a

positive innovation over employer "dues check off". But the individual contact conundrum remains to be solved. It is a mistake for the IWW to become another impersonal dues collection machine; but who among us, now, would give up the automatic dues system and go back to being a broke-ass union with gobs of paperwork for every couple dollars? The workers at Stardust, incidentally, have a further innovation using an app called Venmo. A shop-floor delegate sends out a call for dues, and using the app, the members send their dues electronically. The dues are sent by the member, not withdrawn 'automatically,' therefore the union has to remain responsive to its members. This system reduces both bureaucracy and the potential for lost or 'borrowed' dues money. The case of automatic or 'electronic' dues is an example of how IWW lessons keep changing. We have a new situation that demands new tactics on our part; this applies as well to our contractual vs. non-contractual organizing methods.

### 'PUNCHING OUT' AND OTHER ANTIQUES

One of our main influences on the anti-contract tip was Martin Glaberman. He's awesome, it's true, and so is his *Punching Out*, a must-read for every red card holder. But we have to remember that his critiques of business unionism are from the post-WWII era when unions were ubiquitous and the relative security of a union job was taken for granted. You have to work at a unionized job, first, before you can resent the stifling nature of the union contract. You have to have a union steward before you can want to punch them. Many of us have never worked at a unionized workplace and even the ones that do have a union, my teaching job in Arizona for example, it's a toothless union anyways - a million miles away from the power that unions wielded in the 1950s and 60s. There is a simple reason why business unions routinely outlast the IWW and that reason is the contract. It ensures legal access to the workplace and its workers and a steady dues income, which keeps the union hall open. Automatic dues avoids the check off, but how do we retain power in a workplace, and over an employer, during periods of exhaustion and non-activity? How do we keep the union from disappearing?

We can accuse the contract of being the source of so many labor movement ills but any union that we respect has figured out how to continue fighting and organizing despite those limitations. Some IWW examples that come to mind are our contract shops in the Bay Area and Portland. The recycling shops in Berkeley and the social service shops in Portland are both illustrative examples of both the dark valleys of contracts and as well as the glorious peaks of mass action in the workplace. The pitfalls include a service model where the IWW often feels like an outside agency; and these workplace members should have more influence in their Branches and training on how to be IWW organizers themselves. But these shops have maintained IWW influence over the decades and have provided numerous examples of creative direct actions - occupations, marches on the boss, worker-dictated scheduling and calendars, etc. despite or maybe because of their contracts. Additionally, one of the main advantages they have over our Solidarity Unionism based campaigns is that the IWW presence continues even with a change in organizers and worker activists: the union is bigger than individuals.

In the era of the Burgerville Workers Union and the Little Big Union, the Portland IWW are again trying their hand at elections and contracts. But we have to be very careful with returning to the boss' golden road. We need to stay away from the typical method of passing out authorization cards and leaving ourselves at the mercy of the Labor Board process. We need to avoid getting into union elections where if we lose the vote, it kills the union. Although strategic in the moment, the 'Hail Mary' union election at Jimmy John's felt like a referendum; if you don't win decisively, it means the workers have rejected the union.

A Wobbly organizer commented to me recently, "I think the problems of turning the IWW into an 'institution' are way more interesting than being on the cutting edge all the time." We need to analyze our past campaigns and avoid our mistakes, keeping in mind that there are multiple and conflicting truths, that our lessons keep changing. One conflicting truth is that the union election process is not how you build a union and contracts with employers inhibit the class struggle. But using a strict non-contractual method leaves our years-long organizing campaigns open to burn out and demise. We don't want 'war stories', we want lasting power in the industry. We have to find a way to combine the best of Solidarity Unionism and its direct action tactics, with something, like a contract, that enshrines our gains and influence for decades to come.

## **Facist Coup in Bolivia** BY KAMEEL A.

Western media and governments are currently perpetuating a series of lies to benefit European and American business interests in Bolivia. The Guardian, The New York Times, CNN, the Washington Post, The Economist, and other media outlets are covering up a military coup that has engaged in the violent suppression of working-class and indigenous peoples of Bolivia.

The coordination behind these activities has been orchestrated by members of the U.S. government, Bolivian military leaders trained by the U.S. Army, right-wing Bolivian politicians, and fascist paramilitary organizations. Their stated goal is to overthrow a socialist political party and return to the neoliberal policies that were U.S. and business-friendly.

### **THE ELECTION**

For the 19 days preceding the "resignation" of President Evo Morales, fascists street gangs led by multimillionaire Luis Fernando Camacho refused to accept the incoming election reports. Their refusals were demonstrated by burning down offices belonging to the Movimiento a Socialismo party (MAS). In Potosi, Sucre, and Tarija these violent gangs began setting fire to election offices, ballot boxes, and eventually electoral courts. All of this occurred before votes could finish being tallied.

Multiple counting of ballots at this point had to be moved to other jurisdictions because vote-counters feared for their lives. By October 24th the count was completed, and Evo Morales had won the required proportion of votes to avoid a runoff and be declared the winner.

On October 25th, the United States and the European Union intervened in the Bolivian electoral process by publicly demanding circumvention of the Bolivian electoral process and having a second election.

The following days witnessed multiple threats made to members of the MAS party, continued violent assaults upon members of the MAS party, and numerous break-ins and burglaries of party members' homes. Patricia Arce, the mayor of Vinto, was assaulted by right-wing gangs, doused in red paint, forcibly had her hair cut off, forced to sign a resignation letter, and then paraded through the streets.

On November 10th, the Organization of American States (OAS) published an audit conducted during the October Bolivian Elections. This report was filled with numerous inaccurate statements as attested by an independent audit by the Center for Economic Policy Research (CEPR). The OAS report demanded an annulment of the election despite a lack of evidence to suggest so. The same says Evo Morales agreed to further auditing and investigation of the election results by the OAS to determine if any of their findings had merit.

The OAS, which receives 60% of its funding from the U.S., demanded an annulment of an election that did not support U.S. interests. The same day,

Morales agreed to hold new elections, but military general Williams Kaliman demanded Morales' resignation as opposition violence escalated. With pressure mounting, Morales resigned on Nov. 10 from an undisclosed location to avoid potential attempts on his life. He has since fled to Mexico, where President Andrés Manuel López Obrador granted him political asylum.

There are multiple dimensions to this division in the nation of Bolivia. Clear and foremost, the enemies of MAS were the enemies the two groups MAS best represented. Socialists, and indigenous people. Bolivia's first indigenous president and first openly ascribed socialist president stood against several groups.

### **THE MILITARY**

Military general Williams Kaliman is a graduate of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) – formerly known as the US Army School of the Americas (SOA). WHINSEC and SOA have historically been recognized as a tool for US regime change. It counts among its graduates several agents of anti-communist and dictatorial regime change in Latin America.

The following list represents some of the graduates to pass through the SOA in the 20th century.

**Emilio Eduardo Massera** – executor of the 1976 Argentine Coup D'Etat and mastermind behind the "Dirty War" that saw 30,000 Argentinians "disappeared" or murdered.

**Jorge Rafael Videla** – Dictator of Argentina following the 1976 Coup D'Etat

**Hugo Banzer** – Executor of the 1971 Bolivian Coup D'Etat and dictator of Bolivia from 1971 to 1978.

**Luis Arce Gomez** – Bolivian Army Colonel who participated in the 1980 "Cocaine Coup." Was eventually ousted as a participant in "Operation Condor", a U.S. sponsored terrorist program primarily conducted via the CIA

**Raul Iturriga, Manuel Contreras, Miguel Krassnoff** – Participants in the 1973 Chilean Coup, and all heads or directors of DINA, the Chilean secret police responsible for tens of thousands of arrests, utilizing wide-scale torture, and murdering thousands of civilians.

**Heriberto Lazcano and Arturo Guzman Decena** – Founders of the violent Los Zetas Cartel in Mexico

**Manuel Noriega** – Conducted the 1982 Panamanian coup and was the dictator of Panama from 1983-1989 with significant and open support from the U.S. government and the CIA.

**General Kaliman** and six of his fellow officers were all graduates of WHINSEC. Kaliman additionally served as the FBI military attache for Bolivia during the 2000s.

Kaliman's officers were recorded plotting the coup in audio dispatches leaked by Bolivian news sources on November 10th. Together with former presidential candidate Manfred Reyes Villa, they discussed setting governmental buildings on fire

and convincing pro-business unions to conduct strikes across Bolivia.

In the audio leaked they further revealed already existing support from Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro and US Senators Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, and Bob Menendez.

### **THE ROLE OF BUSINESS**

Carlos Mesa, the opposition candidate to Evo Morales was a former president of Bolivia. He had been a TV journalist who purchased his own channel to editorialize and led the public media perspective on "neoliberalism" in Bolivia. He was particularly supportive of the privatization of water in Bolivia and presided over the ensuing police violence upon indigenous protestors. His rise to the Vice Presidency and the Presidency ended in disgrace as he resigned following months of non-stop demands for him to step down.

Wikileaks released US government cables demonstrating that Carlos Mesa maintained contacts with the US government officials amongst efforts to destabilize the government headed by Evo Morales.

There is no room for Carlos Mesa to run if there is not a demand by capitalists who run foreign multinationals to insist upon electing a leader who will sell off Bolivia's rich resources for their exploitation. The coup arrived less than a week after the Bolivian government prevented multinational corporation ACI Systems Alemania (ACISA) from maintaining a contract to mine lithium reserves.

### **THE ROLE OF FASCISTS**

Another key component and group in opposition to Morales and MAS were the fascist paramilitary groups Union Juvenil Cruceñista and the Civic Committee of Santa Cruz. Led by Christian fundamentalist and multimillionaire Luis Fernando Camacho, these groups represent the growing antipathy to the increased role and political influence of Aymara, Quechua, and other peoples indigenous to Bolivia. His group displays Nazi-Esque salutes as they march through towns. Upon the commencement of this coup, he filmed himself storming the Presidential palace and placing a bible on the national flag while supporters stated "Pachamama [Andean Mother Earth Spirit] will never return to the palace. Bolivia belongs to Christ."

Camacho's fascist thugs proceeded during this period to violently attack indigenous peoples and poor working people for "probably voting for Morales." While most images were spared from the international press, Bolivian twitter was filled with scenes of horrific violence against the people in areas that had predominantly voted for Morales.

The president of the Bolivian Congress resigned following the armed kidnapping of his brother by these same thugs.

Camacho's fame and wealth is descended from a family of wealthy landowners who own insurance companies and controlled part of Bolivia's gas reserves. Camacho became involved in Bolivian politics following the nationalization of natural

gas. His name and his family's company were implicated in undertaking massive fraud and tax evasion when the Panama Papers were leaked.

Bolivian police primarily of European descent have sided with Camacho's fascists gangs. Cell phone footage and leaked audio have uncovered collaboration between the Bolivian police and Camacho's forces. The Bolivian police are tearing off the Wiphala (a flag that represents Aymara people) from their uniforms in a declaration of hatred for indigenous people in Bolivia.

These two groups have also been filmed gathering together and loudly proclaiming before cameras their desire to "destroy the savages." Unsurprisingly more footage has been released demonstrating them carrying out further violent attacks on indigenous peoples who are protesting the fascist coup.

### THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL ELITE

On November 11, Jeanine Anez Chavez, the interim president of the Bolivian congress declared herself president of Bolivia. In a legislative chamber featuring a small minority of elected officials from her own party, her self-declaration

rapidly received support and recognition from the U.S. government. Chavez is a politician with a history of anti-indigenous statements.

Despite purging her social media accounts, archived websites have demonstrated that on several occasions she has decried the "satanic nature" of indigenous peoples and has actively advocated for the oppression of indigenous groups in Bolivia.

The declaration of Chavez's interim government has been followed by the deaths of dozens of indigenous protesters. According to the inter-American Commission on Human Rights, there have been 23 deaths and 122 wounded since the start of the political unrest, and Chavez has issued a decree that gives state forces amnesty from any legal liabilities in their repression of the Bolivian people.

### THE ONLY DEFENSE AGAINST FASCISM

The eruption of a coup in South America is not a novel occurrence. The history of Latin America following the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine by the U.S. government is one fraught with regime change, U.S. invasions, large-scale

political operations conducted by the CIA, and the replacement of social-democratic leaders who attempt to redistribute wealth in the Global South and resist the influence of U.S. imperialism and its vested business interests.

The actions conducted in Bolivia today are familiar to any Latin American civilian in the 20th century. The media called the overthrow of every social democratic government in Latin America "the restoration of democracy." Today the former colonial powers and the U.S. are united in perpetuating an old lie – that democracy brought by U.S. business, fascists street gangs, and reactionary military coups.

The Aymara and Quechua people are responding bravely in the streets with the only tested defense against imperialism. Today they stand tall, blocking highways in defense from Christian-identarian fascists who are supplied and united by the business class of Bolivia and U.S. interests. If indigenous people's can crush these fascists, there might be hope for that "democracy" the media seems so intent on perverting.

There is a civil war today in Bolivia, and we have a responsibility to recognize whose side are you on?



# Immigrant Girl, Radical Woman: Matilda Rabinowitz's Wobbly Memoir

BRENDAN MASLAUSKAS DUNN

The posthumously published memoir of the relatively unknown Wobbly Matilda Rabinowitz is a riveting story that has a level of emotional depth and illumination not always seen in other memoirs of IWW members. *Immigrant Girl, Radical Woman: A Memoir from the Early Twentieth Century* was published in 2017 by Cornell University Press. It's a mystery why Rabinowitz never published her memoir while she was alive. Thankfully, her granddaughter Robbin Légère Henderson blew off the dust from the manuscript and punctuated the story with historical context and personal stories about her grandmother. Légère Henderson also wove in her own hauntingly beautiful artwork, page after page, which in the end makes the story spill off the pages and come alive. The book both serves as a great snapshot in time during the heyday of the Wobblies and unearths the narrative of one of the lesser-known protagonists of that era. So many of Rabinowitz's insights about organizing, immigration, the struggle against bosses, the conservatism of the AFL, and the patriarchal and egotistical behavior of other labor activists is timely. Her vision for a new world – and how to get there – would serve many Wobblies today as very sage advice for the current political moment.

Without giving too much away, I thought I would share just a little from the book and a little about Matilda's contribution to our union and to the broader struggle for liberation. Matilda Rabinowitz was born in Lityn, Ukraine, then part of czarist Russia, in 1887. Her family lived under the boot of an ever-increasing anti-Semitism in the form of discrimination and so at the age of thirteen, she immigrated with her family to the United States. She recounts her harrowing, terrifying journey across the Atlantic where the huddled 1,000 migrant passengers aboard the ship cheated death during a storm that raged for 19 days – a ship that was in such a state of disrepair that it was decommissioned the next year. She and her family ended up in the strange and overcrowded streets of the Lower East Side of Manhattan. In her writing about her grandmother, Légère Henderson makes the painful connection between that journey and so many similar stories of fear, uncertainty, horror, and danger that so many immigrants today face in their migration north from Mexico and Central America. So little has changed. Rabinowitz and Légère Henderson are almost in conversation with each other as their stories carefully dance side by side, at times becoming one. The story of how the immigrant girl transforms into a radical woman slowly unfolds: first in the slums of the Lower East Side, then in the sweatshops and mills of Connecticut where she landed a job in a corset factory. It was at one such factory in Bridgeport where her radicalization became more pronounced. The back-breaking work, the continued poverty in a new country that lured many in with the false promise of a better life, and exposure to radical ideas through her brother led her to join the Socialist Party. She helped publish the *Industrial Unionist* newspaper, became a strong advocate of industrial unionism, rather than the more conservative AFL craft unionism, and also met fellow socialist Ben Légère who she later created a family with. She longed to change the conditions of exploitation at her job so she reached out to the Women's Trade Union League to help organize her coworkers but any substantial organizing or wins never materialized.

Despite this initial foray into organizing not resulting in the victory she had hoped for, this

experience forged a strong commitment to the labor movement for years to come. From time to time, little success stories claw out from underneath the immense weight of her organizing failures. In Matilda Rabinowitz's case, this forged a strong commitment to the labor movement for years to come and it was only the beginning.

As she became more immersed in the broader labor and radical movements of her day, Rabinowitz became increasingly critical both of the "postal office" socialists in power (and the local Socialist Party in general) for being too timid, as well as the conservative form of pure and simple craft unionism espoused by Gompers and the AFL. Those "postal office socialists" as she disparagingly called them, and what many others at the time referred to as "sewer socialists" (among many other names) would continue to frustrate her. These were names that syndicalists, many Wobblies, anarchists, and revolutionary socialists lobbied at the brand of socialism that had more to do with the politics of respectability, of gradual reform, of slowly, painfully slowly, building a more utopian society one minor reform at a time, and one elected politician at a time. The best way forward was through the ballot box. The major concern of the day was not revolution and rebellion, but a modernized sewer system. Matilda knew these socialists all too well in Bridgeport who were elected into office – they also had electoral successes in Milwaukee and Schenectady. She did not want a slightly reformed capitalist state, but a socialist cooperative commonwealth, one that could only be attained through the mass organization of workers through strikes and direct action. This story should serve as a pause for many of us to think deeply about the "sewer socialists" that have come to prominence today. She resigned from the Socialist Party in protest in 1911 after many socialists in the organization were purged because of their support for revolutionary industrial unionism and direct action over political action. The IWW welcomed her with open arms.

It was at this juncture of the story where I felt the most connected with Matilda Rabinowitz. The IWW, formed in 1905, became increasingly engaged with organizing many thousands of immigrant and women textile workers on the East Coast. Lawrence and Patterson are familiar names but Little Falls is lesser-known. For me, it's home – not too far east of Utica in the Mohawk Valley of Upstate NY. My sister and her family live close to Little Falls and my brother in law works in a paper mill in town. My high school history teacher who introduced me to the history of the IWW lives there. My grandfather spent the first years of his life in Little Falls, born into an Irish immigrant family (his grandfather did not speak a word of English) in a run-down house next to the railroad. It's likely my ancestors were in Little Falls during the 1912 IWW strike, but I have no idea what part, if any, they played. I do know that the family home served as a refuge for migrant workers traveling from town to town in search of work and a slightly better life. They could always count on my great grandmother to spare what little food she had leftover. A glimmer of hope and compassion in an otherwise unforgiving world. I also know the stories of the violence and terror the Ku Klux Klan unleashed on the residents of the town in the 1920s – the burning crosses made an imprint on a collective family memory

passed through the generations (my maternal grandparents also shared their stories of being chased by the Klan in Pennsylvania when they were young). I know the

stories of isolation and pain of my grandfather when he became an orphan and, in practice but not in name, worked as an indentured farm worker. How he ate "chow chow" – grass and clover – to survive during the Great Depression and stole coal from trains to keep his family's home warm. This was the poverty and desolation experienced by the common workers in Little Falls and it is here where the IWW planted deep roots.

A spontaneous strike of 1,600 workers swept through the textile mills of Little Falls and the IWW sent in Matilda Rabinowitz's partner and fellow Wobbly Ben Légère and the anarchist Wobbly Filippo Bocchini who were both arrested shortly after their arrival. The IWW called on Rabinowitz to take their place and help with the strike. As Rabinowitz recounts, she had limited organizing experience and of course was a radical. "But to be cast suddenly into a role of responsibility for a strike was rather frightening." She was baptized in fire with the IWW in a strike that lasted three and a half grueling months in the bitter cold that defines Upstate NY winters. The repression was fierce. Strikers were beaten by police, the jails became packed with Wobblies and supporters who were targeted in the midst of a bitter free speech fight, and an infiltrator who had gained the trust of the IWW intercepted love letters between Légère and Rabinowitz that were later used to smear them in Légère and Bocchini's trial.

Although I have done a bit of research on the strike over the years, Rabinowitz fills in some of the gaps with her narrative. She spoke fondly of the many Wobblies and supporters "who came unbidden and left unknown." We know about the Big Bill Haywoods and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in the lore of our union, but less is known about the local Wobblies and worker organizers who did the day to day work to make the union a reality. One such character was Bob Bakeman – a former minister who "left Churchianity for Christianity" and helped out with the strike. The others were the workers on the picket line – so many workers whose stories we will never quite know. She also spoke the most highly of Vincent Saint John (who was then the General Secretary-Treasurer of the union) who helped her build up her capacity as an organizer. She, in turn, passed on those skills to the workers in Little Falls. To me, this was practicing what we preach in our union, that "we are all leaders." It is the essence of solidarity unionism: doing the work to grow the union, building up the skills and capacity of other workers to take action, and taking that action on the shop floor.

Something else that stood out to me in the memoir was how Rabinowitz was inspired by the ability of multiple immigrant groups that spoke different languages. They did so all the while battling the cold, and walking the picket lines daily. Wobblies started every day on the picket line at 6:00 am. In the evening mass meetings were held where workers patiently waited to translate their discussion and decision-making process into multiple European languages. I could feel like I was side by side with these workers as they experimented in a form of direct democracy. Rabinowitz captures this exuberant feeling of mutual aid and solidarity. "Although it was the women strikers alone who toiled long hours in the kitchen, both men and



women worked in the adjoining shop to clean and repair arriving donations of clothing. Two Italian cobblers did wonders with worn shoes. It was a busy little world, struggling to survive. And yet what an example it was that men and women of different backgrounds, and speaking different languages, could strive together against great odds in unbroken solidarity for three months, determined to wrest a little more life for themselves and their children." This form of mutual aid and direct democracy will only happen through organization across the entire working class. And that means learning from the precedent established by Wobblies in places like Little Falls where the union served as a place to connect workers who spoke different languages. Back then it was not unheard of for a Wobbly organizer to speak several languages. Are we living up to that today? In the end, the strike was won, in no small part because of the hard work Rabinowitz put in. The Wobblies on strike were not retaliated against and returned to work. They won equal pay for workers of all genders, and they all received 60 hours of pay for a reduced 55-hour workweek. Although Rabinowitz had many positive things to say about organizing in Little Falls, she spared no one who was deserving of her criticism. Unsurprisingly, it was a few men with large egos who Rabinowitz spoke out against. What she had to say on this major issue is one of the most important takeaways from Rabinowitz's story: her struggle battling patriarchy throughout her life - on the picket line against the bosses and police, but also with other Wobblies, as well as in her relationship with Ben Légère. Rabinowitz was a fiercely independent woman. In her youth, she called off a marriage and walked away from a career as a nurse, stabbing directly into societal norms and expectations of women at the time. She was an advocate of free love, albeit a quiet one. She was one of only a few nationally known IWW organizers who were women - her gender is perhaps one of the biggest reasons why she was all but erased from the history books. In Little Falls she voiced her frustrations over Carlo

Tresca and Big Bill Haywood. To her, Haywood "seemed to lack repose, concentration, patience. Criticism upset him, and he defended even his small mistakes heatedly." Tresca, who had been a crucial asset for IWW strikes and organizing in other larger cities, in the opinion of Rabinowitz had little to offer in this small mill town. The two men had egos and were out of step with the true needs of the local workers in Little Falls.

A major subplot in Rabinowitz's story revolves around her rocky relationship with Ben Légère. He represented the worst the IWW had to offer: he was an attention seeker, jealous, overly suspicious, and was driven by ego. Rabinowitz constantly had to support him financially and emotionally. He was manipulative, abusive, and on a few occasions became violent with her. The IWW, or any organization pushing for liberation, both then and now, must do its best to address head-on patriarchy and other forms of oppression that the Left has inherited from the society it was born from. Rabinowitz continued her struggle against patriarchy as well as the broader struggle for working-class emancipation.

Rabinowitz went on to organize workers with the IWW in McKees Rocks, and stogie workers in Pittsburgh. In Detroit, crowds of thousands of autoworkers gathered to hear her speak as she helped workers launch the first strike of autoworkers in the US. Although the IWW eventually fizzled out in the auto industry, the union built the foundation for other unions to take off in the future. Most of her work however continued through the IWW's Textile Workers Industrial Union, which eventually brought her to Greenville, South Carolina.

It was there where the back-stabbing conservative craft unionism of the AFL disrupted the IWW's efforts to successfully organize. It was not uncommon for bosses who were terrified of the Wobblies to call in AFL unions to out-organize the IWW. If bosses had to deal with a union, it may as well be one that pushed for peace with capitalists instead of the abolition of capitalism and continued battles with bosses. The United Textile Workers of

the AFL came seemingly at the request of the bosses. The AFL organizer from Boston was driven around in a company car. The AFL didn't do any tangible organizing, but because of the lack of support from the broader IWW, and the acts of stooges for the company who were brought in to divide the workers, Rabinowitz left and the IWW local eventually folded. However, this did lay the groundwork for the Communist Party and future unions to organize in the 1930s - a common theme with the foundational and organizational development and work the IWW did across the country.

According to Rabinowitz, in the end, "There were never enough organizers, and women organizers were still a novelty." This along with fierce repression the union faced, the counter-organizing the AFL did against the IWW, and internal political and strategic divisions led to a dramatic drop in IWW membership. The light of the union faded for some time, but the flame never flickered out.

Rabinowitz lived the rest of her life committed to the cause. She worked for a brief eight months for an AFL office workers union in New York City, despite her biting critiques of craft unionism, and left because the broader AFL never seriously supported the work they were doing. Her decision to leave also manifested amidst factional disputes within the union between authoritarian Communists on the one hand, and socialists on the other which tore the fabric of solidarity apart. Rabinowitz never trusted the Communist Party: that feeling was mutual between her and countless Communists she encountered. She did, however, rejoin the Socialist Party, threw her support behind the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, served as secretary for the Political Prisoners Defense Committee, and continued to write and edit for the Industrial Worker and socialist publications until her final days. In her articles she was critical of Zionism and Jewish nationalism (she was an internationalist), and the ever-expanding authoritarianism and dogmatism of the CP. But her sharpest criticism was reserved for the conservatism of the AFL and their zealous acquiescence to bosses: pushing for labor peace and stability, and ultimately supporting capitalism. Rabinowitz wanted to abolish it. The IWW and the broader world we inherited from the ones described by Matilda Rabinowitz are very different, but in a sense much of what she wrote about continues to this very day: a perilous journey from one country to another as an immigrant, the exhausting conditions of exploitation as a wage worker, figuring out the best strategy to take for our total liberation, the struggle to raise children or of getting older and maintaining your role in the movement, as well as the distractions and confusion created by conservative craft unionism and so-called "socialists." All of this is more than enough for us to reflect on as Wobblies today. Matilda Rabinowitz's words and Robbin Légère Henderson's artwork seamlessly bind two different generations, time periods and struggles into one. Grab a copy of this book, read it, reflect on it, pass it along, and act on it. I occasionally walk the streets of Little Falls, thinking of the IWW strike that occurred there so long ago, wondering what the lives of those workers were like, thinking of Rabinowitz, and thinking of my grandfather and relatives who grew up in the immigrant slums of that town. I also think of the work that we as Wobblies have to do, especially in these smaller towns and cities and in rural areas, but also anywhere and everywhere. Wobblies are trying to continue that work as best as we can in the Mohawk Valley and in the former mill towns and small rust belt cities one conversation with a worker at a time. Let's get to work. We have a world to win!

# Richard Reilly—PRESENTE! BY PATRICK MURFIN, FORMER IW EDITOR

When news of the passing of Richard Reilly hit Facebook on February 11 the internet exploded with messages of grief, condolences, and memories of one of the most devoted and enduring activists for social justice and international solidarity. They flowed from occupied Palestine, Free Derry, militant liberationists from around the world, and from hundreds whose lives he touched and inspired.

His death was not unexpected. Dick had been battling lung cancer for three years and shortly before the end of last year announced to his friends and followers that he would not "complete another orbit." But despite pain and weakness he soldiered on to the end. On February 9 he posted his final reports on depredations in Palestine, keeping up a more than 40-year-long mission of sharing the news of the world that the mainstream media never seemed to carry.

I first met Dick back in 1974. He was just 21 years old then, but already a veteran activist. Dick was born November 21, 1952 in Los Angeles to Scott Reilly an Irish-American and Catherine Freeman who was Jewish. He grew up in many places around the US, attending schools in California, Maine, and Alaska. He attended the University of Maine at Orono. He had already volunteered in California with the United Farm Workers and was active in the campus anti-Vietnam War movement. He ran afoul of the Selective Service System and served a three month prison sentence for draft resistance.

In Maine Dick also found the IWW, the legendary revolutionary industrial union which was active on campus and looking for ways to connect to the state's blue collar workers. He teamed with another radical student, Mike Hargis and together organized local grape and lettuce boycotts in support of the United Farm Worker Union. Shortly after a photo of the pair bundled up for Maine's harsh winter appeared in the *Industrial Worker* both came to Chicago.

The early '70's was a time when young Wobblies from around the nation came to Chicago. That was where the action was—not only as the union's General Headquarters and home of *Industrial Worker*—but as a hot bed of action by the Chicago General Membership Branch. In addition to Reilly and Hargis; Dean Nolan came from Portland, Oregon; Penny Pixler from Iowa; John Hodgson from Long Beach, California; Richard Christopher and Rita Bakunin from

Boston; and Craig Ledford from Milwaukee.

I was on the staff collective of IW and Chicago Branch Secretary. Reilly and Hargis came specifically for an ambitious Metal and Machinery Workers I.U. 440 drive in small machine and metal casting shops. Meanwhile there were organizing drives at a manufacturer of plastic parsons tables, print shops, fast food restaurants, and in health care.

Dick Reilly quickly found his niche in solidarity work. The Chicago Branch was a leader of a local labor support committee for the UFW and Dick was key in organizing weekly pickets at supermarkets across the city and suburbs. During a strike by private waste haulers, he organized flying squads to shadow scab Browning and Ferris drivers as they tried to make deliveries to suburban landfills. He was especially active in support of a 36 day-long strike by nurses at Cook County Hospital in 1976 not only joining picket lines, but helping organize relief for the nurses and their families and throwing a Christmas party for their children.

International solidarity also drew his attention. He organized pickets at the British Consulate in support of Irish Republican prisoners and actions against apartheid in South Africa. Ireland became a particular focus. With other Wobblies Dick organized leafletting of the annual St. Patrick's Day Parade under the name The James Connolly Combination, urging revelers to support Northern Irish working class rebels.

Dick made a special study of the work of James Connolly, the Irish socialist and labor leader who spent time in America as an IWW organizer before returning to Dublin and organizing the working class Citizen Army which was a key part of the Easter Rebellion of 1916. Connolly was wounded in the fighting and subsequently executed by firing squad by the British. While many others of his cohort of young Wobblies were anarchists or anarcho-syndicalist, Connolly's writing moved Dick to embrace Marxism.

His was a non-doctrinaire Marxism steeped in the principles of solidarity. He avoided the sectarian struggles that often prevented effective action seeking instead to build broad, effective, and inclusive movements. Like Connolly he envisioned an anti-colonialist working class movement for self-determination and national liberation. Through the late '70's Reilly shifted more and more of his time and attention to his Irish Republican support work.

He was also developing a deepening sympathy for the Palestinians. This was quite controversial then even on the left. There was deep and abiding sympathy for Israel as a haven and refuge following the Holocaust that went far beyond the Jewish community. And there was revulsion at acts of international terrorism like the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre. But Reilly



knew that the Irgun introduced terrorism to the Middle East when they blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem during the Jewish insurgency in Mandatory Palestine in 1946. He also saw a rising left-wing Palestinian movement gathering momentum to press for a homeland on the ground. Many old friends and comrades turned against him when he became committed to the Palestine cause. He tried to answer them with programs of information on campuses and in the communities. Slowly, he made headway.

He was one of the founders and the Midwest Coordinator of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in the 1980s. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, he was involved in launching widespread media, political and popular campaigns to defend Beirut in the U.S. He frequently visited occupied Palestine and in 1988, during the first Intifada, he led a solidarity delegation that joined a march in Ramallah organized by Palestinian women's organizations on the anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. He was one of the Ramallah Seven seized by occupation troops and taken to the infamous Mos Kobiyeh detention center before deportation. He has been permanently banned from entering Israel or the Palestinian territories ever since.

But he encouraged hundreds of other to make the trip and make abiding connections to the Palestinian cause just as he encouraged others to visit Ireland and Free Derry. In fact he helped facilitate the remarkable mutual support of Irish Republicans and Palestinians and brought those connections back to the U.S.

During the First Intifada Dick began his personal solidarity education project, first as a rapidly growing e-mail group and later on social media, especially Facebook. Despite working full time as a psychiatric social worker specializing in helping those in acute crisis and a busy schedule of meetings, programs, and street actions, he posted bulletins from around the world every night to an ever-growing audience—not only news from Palestine and Ireland, but from Puerto Rico, Central America, Greece, anti-austerity uprisings in Europe, and homegrown American movements.

Although Dick had long informally attended demonstrations with handy first aid and medical supplies, his life took a turn during the mass demonstrations and marches protesting Iraq War. He became a founding member of Chicago Action Medical Street Medics, was ever ready at protests large and small, orderly and non-violent, or the chaotic targets of police violence and repression. He inspired many to join him and conducted many of the training sessions for new volunteers.

Scott Mechanic, then a young high school activist, described those days in a Facebook memorial post:

"In 2003 I was a teenage anti-war activist, on the verge of dropping out of high school I found meaning as I joined thousands of students from across Chicago in school walkouts, marches, rallies. Our tactics escalated as mainstream media and politicians fell in line to push for the disastrous war in Iraq. Finally, on March 20, the night of the invasion, a rally spilled out Federal Plaza to march upon Lake Shore Drive, paralyzing much of the Chicago's commercial districts. The successful expression of our anger was made possible by a misdirection campaign that fooled the police, lead by the Chicago Coalition Against War and Racism, of which Dick Reilly was a key member. Dick Reilly was also there as the police eventually kettled the crowd, providing medical care as police beat protesters before arresting hundreds, including me.

At an event for arrestees, Dick announced a street medic training, and I found myself among dozens of Chicago area activists at Chicago Action Medical's second ever street medic training, led by Dick's friend Doc Rosen, with help from Dick and other experienced medics. Still a new medic I traveled with Dick and half a dozen other CAM members to Miami for the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas) protests in 2002. Dick and I ran as buddies in the streets for a violently surreal three days of protests, Dick modeled a calm but determined medic, always determined to be on the front lines of resistance. As I was faced with the unbridled brutality of a police state, Dick found ways to create a joyful resistance. My memories of Miami that are not blood stained or sweat drenched involve rum and Cuban restaurants, stories of Latin American resistance to colonialism and empire, building support and connections with activists across the continents."

Sometimes Street Medics had little more to do than stand-by with first aid for blisters and turned ankles, sun burn and heat stroke in hot weather, frostbite and hypothermia in cold. But when things got hairy there were busted heads, tear gas, Taser, and Mace injuries to attend to, often on the run. And Street Medics themselves were often singled out and targeted. Dick remained unflappable.

Over the years he had ample opportunity to be of service—Occupy movement marches, May Day marches and immigration justice protests, police brutality protests and Black Lives Matter marches, and the almost daily marches during the Chicago Teachers Union strike to mention just a few of the causes. Before he died, Dick probably tallied more street protests than any other American.

Through it all he enjoyed the love and support of his life partner and comrade, Christine Geovanis, a significant activist herself and a photo journalist who chronicled much of the action. She is now the Communications Director for the Chicago Teachers Union.

In his long activism Dick touched and inspired many lives. He was laid to rest near the Haymarket Memorial among the illustrious heroes of the anarchist, Socialist, Communist, the labor movements.

*"I May his memory be for a blessing."*



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## *Fellow Workers,*

**THIS** appeal is a maiden attempt for the Industrial Worker in the field of donation soliciting. Realizing full well that we are filling a decidedly essential position in the revolutionary movement, we have at this time of need, no hesitancy in explaining to our readers our exact position and issuing this call for aid. Never was there a time when the idea of revolutionary industrial unionism was so acceptable to the working class of this country.

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In the attempt to meet all the sudden drains on the organization because of the pandemic, the general office has had to retrench. For these and other reasons we have been forced to come out with this issue of 16 pages. The price of the magazine has been cut as you have already found out. The Industrial Worker has been getting on its feet for the last year and a half.

The most valuable support we could receive are subscriptions from IWW members. Our usefulness is now being established firmly as the workers are commencing to recognize in the Industrial Worker a constant and constructive force well worth supporting. We have increased our print run by

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Although Dick had never formally attended demonstrations with hands

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## PREAMBLE TO THE IWW CONSTITUTION

*The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.*

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

*It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.*

## COVID-19 GUIDE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONS



### General Information

1. According to Section 502 of the FLSA, you have the right to refuse unsafe work. You can do this alone or with your fellow workers. You can do this when it is unsafe and when it is safe. It is always to protect yourself and your fellow workers who refuse unsafe work.
2. Workplaces that are shut down due to health or safety of workers are not subject to the FLSA.
3. Workers in the U.S. who are not paid their state's minimum wage.

### Industrial Union 100s Agriculture and Fisheries

COVID-19 can spread on surfaces. Make sure that your employer is providing protective gear to prevent possible virus transmission to any surface or food product. Protective masks should be given, too, to prevent the spread of COVID-19 to any food products as well.

### Industrial Union 200s Mining and Energy

Most workers in this industry are deemed "essential personnel." As such, it is incumbent on your employer to provide protective gear and ensure social distancing at your work site. This will prevent essential workers from becoming sick but also from disrupting essential energy services in times of crisis.

### Industrial Union 300s General Construction

Given the possibility for contamination of work sites, particularly in larger cities, it is recommended that workers demand a temporary moratorium on all non-essential workplace construction. Social distancing guidelines, protective gear and onsite sanitizers are also important demands to prevent the spread.

### Industrial Union 400s Manufacture and General Production

Processing, printing, and manufacturing industries are difficult to maintain a six-foot rule in the workplace. If your workplace is not temporarily closed due to a "shelter in place" order, taking action to ensure distance requirements are maintained is critical to ensuring your health, and the health of your fellow workers, is protected.

### Industrial Union 500s Transportation and Communication

In transportation and distribution, everything you touch will be touched by countless others. The potential for contamination in these industries is incredibly high. Protective gear, sanitizer, gloves and especially paid time off in cases of sickness are imperative for flattening the curve of COVID-19.

### Industrial Union 600s Public Service

Fighting to protect students by shutting down schools for the duration of the academic year is important to slow the spread of COVID-19. Health service workers must ensure that their workplaces are properly isolating individuals suspected of having the virus, are providing PPE and other necessary equipment to inhibit spread to healthcare workers. Likewise, retail workers should work to ensure their workplace is using social distancing for different departments, keeping customers safe with PPE and limiting shopping numbers.

### Industrial Union 600s Public Service Cont.

Fast food and "gig" workers are in severe at-risk categories for the spread of COVID-19. Handling food that can be contaminated daily puts you, your fellow workers and the community at risk. Maintaining social distancing lines in fast food, protective facial gear and hand sanitizer stations are imperative in stopping the spread of COVID-19.

LABOR  
PRODUCES  
ALL WEALTH

ORGANIZATION EDUCATION EMANCIPATION

# Industrial Worker

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

ALL WEALTH  
MUST GO  
TO LABOR

SUMMER 2017 #1780 VOLUME 114 NO. 3 \*4 (U.S. IWW members) / \*6 (U.S. non-members) / \*7 (International)

# B I S B E E

THE  
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EMPLOYING CLASS  
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& THE FEW, WHO MAKE  
UP THE EMPLOYING  
CLASS HAVE ALL THE  
GOOD THINGS  
OF LIFE

★ I ★  
W ★ W

7.12.17

Bisbee Deportation:  
Miners detained in  
baseball park, July 12,  
1917. In Bisbee, Arizona.  
Photographer unknown.  
Preamble medallion by  
artist Laurie McKenna.

# IWW DIRECTORY

## IWW Contract Shops

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San Francisco Bay Area GMB:  
P.O. Box 11412, Berkeley, 94712.  
510-845-0540, bayarea@iww.org.  
Contact for: Berkeley Ecology Center  
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Shop; Community Conservation  
Centers (Buyback) Recycling - IU  
670 - IWW Shop; Stone Mountain  
& Daughters fabrics - IU 410 IWW  
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- IU 630 IWW Shop

### Oregon

Portland GMB: 2249 E Burnside St.,  
97214. 503-893-2382, portland.  
iww@gmail.com, portlandiww.org.  
Contact for: Janus Youth Shelters.

### Washington

Seattle GMB: 1122 E. Pike #1142  
Seattle, WA 98122-3934. 206-429-  
5285. seattleiww@gmail.com.  
Contact for: Central Co-op

## IWW Shop Cards

Anarpy-Mental Health Services -  
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255-1800, www.lakesidepress.org

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dthico@gmail.com

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230-0450, info@redemmas.org

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sweetpatches@aol.com

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Sandalwood Dr., Davenport, FL.  
npwands@comcast.net

## IWW Branches & Local/Regional Contacts

### Asia

#### Taiwan

Taiwan IWW: c/o David Temple,  
4 Floor, No. 3, Ln. 67, Shujing St.,  
Beitou Dist., Taichung City 40641  
Taiwan. 098-937-7029, taiw-  
iww@iww.org

### Australia

#### New South Wales

Sydney GMB: IWW-Sydney-gmb@  
iww.org.au

### Queensland

Brisbane GMB: P.O. Box 5842, West  
End, Qld 4101. Asger, del., hap-  
pyanarchy@riseup.net

### Victoria

Melbourne GMB: P.O. Box 145,  
Moreland, VIC 3058, melbourne-  
wobblies@gmail.com.

### Canada

IWW Canadian Regional Organizing  
Committee (CANROC): c/o Toronto  
GMB, P.O. Box 45 Toronto P, Toronto  
ON, M5S 2S6. iww@iww.ca

### Alberta

Edmonton GMB: P.O. Box 4197,  
T6E 4T2. edmontongmb@iww.org,  
edmonton.iww.ca

### British Columbia

Vancouver GMB: IWW Vancouver,  
c/o Sparatus Books, 3378 Findlay  
Street, V5N 4E7. contact@vancou-  
ver.iww.com, www.vancouveriww.  
com

Vancouver Island GMB: Box 297 St.  
A, Nanaimo BC, V9R 5K9. hvw@  
telus.net

### Manitoba

Winnipeg GMB: IWW, c/o WORC,  
P.O. Box 1, R3C 2G1. 204-299-5042,  
winnipeg@iww.org

### Ontario

Ottawa-Outaouais GMB & GDC Local  
6: 1106 Wellington St., P.O. Box  
36042, Ottawa, K1Y 4V3. ott-out@  
iww.org, gdc@ottawaiww.org

Ottawa Panhandlers Union:  
Raymond Loomer, interim delegate,  
raymond747@hotmail.com

Peterborough: c/o PCAP 393 Water  
St. #17, K9H 3L7. 705-749-9694,  
Sean Carleton, del. 705-775-0663,  
sean@carleton.iww.org

Toronto GMB: P.O. Box 45, Toronto P,  
M5S 2S6. 647-741-4998, toronto@  
iww.org, www.torontoiww.org

Windsor GMB: c/o WWAC, 328 Pel-  
lier St., N9A 4K7. 519-564-8036,  
windsoriww@gmail.com. http://  
windsoriww.wordpress.com

### Quebec

Montreal GMB: 5323 rue Beaubien,  
Montréal, QC, Canada, H2J-3L8, P.O.  
Box: 60124 CSP Saint-Denis, Mon-  
tréal, QC, H2J 4E1, 438-345-5046,  
iww\_quebec@riseup.net, https://  
sitt.wordpress.com

Quebec GMB: iww\_solidarite.qc@  
riseup.net, https://www.facebook.  
com/iwwqc, https://sitt.wordpress.  
com/

Sherbrooke GMB: 819-349-9914,  
https://www.facebook.com/  
IWWsherbrooke, https://sitt.  
wordpress.com/

### Europe

European Regional Administration  
(ERA): P.O. Box 7593, Glasgow,  
G42 2EX. www.iww.org.uk. 0800  
998 9149

ERA Organisation Contacts  
Access Facilitator: Sue Fortune,  
access@iww.org.uk

Central England Organiser: Russ  
Spring, central@iww.org.uk

Communications Department,  
Chair - Xav Bear, communications@  
iww.org.uk

Cymru/Wales Organiser: Peter  
Davies, cymru@iww.org.uk

East of Scotland Organiser: Carol  
Ince, eastscotland@iww.org.uk

Legal Officer: Guy Mitchell, Legal@  
iww.org.uk

London Regional Organiser: Tawa-  
nda Nyabango

Membership Administrator: Philip  
LeMarque, membership@iww.org.uk

Merchandise Committee: merchan-  
dise@iww.org.uk

Northern Regional Organiser: Sam  
Frowien, north@iww.org.uk

Organising Department: Chair -  
Tawanda Nyabango, organising@  
iww.org.uk

Research and Survey Department:  
research@iww.org.uk

Secretary: Dave Pike, secretary@  
iww.org.uk

Southern England Organiser: Nikki  
Dancey, south@iww.org.uk

Tech Committee: tech@iww.org.uk

Training Department: Chair - Chris  
Wellbrook, training@iww.org.uk

Treasurer: Jed Forward, treasurer@  
iww.org.uk

West of Scotland Organiser: Rona  
McAlpine, westscotland@iww.  
org.uk

Women's Officer: Jen Fox, women@  
iww.org.uk

ERA Branches  
Cydeside GMB: cydeside@iww.  
org.uk

Cymru/Wales GMB: caerydd@  
iww.org.uk

Edinburgh GMB: edinburgh@iww.  
org.uk

Tyne & Wear GMB: tyneandwear@  
iww.org.uk

Bradford GMB: bradford@iww.org.uk

Leeds GMB: IWW, Ebor Court, Cooper  
Gate, Leeds. leeds@iww.org.uk

Manchester GMB: manchester@  
iww.org.uk

Sheffield GMB: IWW Office, SYAC,  
120 Wicker, Sheffield S3 8JB (0114  
223 2100). sheffield@iww.org.uk

Norwich Bar and Hospitality Workers  
IUB 640: norwich-bhu@iww.org.uk

Nottingham GMB: notts@iww.org.uk

West Midlands GMB: IWW, Bike  
Rancher, 1539 Pershore Rd, Birm-  
ingham B30 2JH (0121 459 7276).  
westmidlands@iww.org.uk

Bristol GMB: bristol@iww.org.uk

Reading GMB: reading@iww.org.uk

London GMB: london@iww.org.uk

Belgium  
Belgium IWW: belgium@iww.org

German Language Area  
IWW German Language Area  
Regional Organizing Committee  
(GLAMROC): glamroc@wobblies.org.  
www.wobblies.org

Austria (Vienna): iwwaustria@  
gmail.com, wien@wobblies.  
at. http://wobblies.org, www.  
facebook.com/pages/IWW-  
Wien/381153168710911

Berlin: Offenes Treffen jeden 2. Mon-  
tag im Monat im Cafe Commune,  
Reichenberger Str. 157, 10999 Berlin,  
18 Uhr. (U-Bahnhof Kottbusser  
Tor). Postadresse: IWW Berlin, c/o  
Rotes Antiquariat, Rungstr. 20,  
10179 Berlin, Germany. berlin@  
wobblies.org

Bremen: kontakt@iww-bremen.org.  
www.iww-bremen.org

Cologne/Koeln GMB: c/o  
Allerweltschhaus, Koernerstr. 77-79,  
50823 Koeln, Germany. cologne@  
wobblies.org, www.iwwcologne.  
wordpress.com

Frankfurt a.M. GMB: Frankfurt@  
wobblies.org. http://Frankfurt.  
wobblies.org

Hamburg-Waterkant: hamburg@  
wobblies.org

Kassel: Rothe Ecke, Naumburger Str.  
20a, 34127 Kassel, kontakt@wobblies-  
kassel.de. www.wobblies-kassel.de

Leipzig: leipzig@wobblies.org

Munich: iww.muenchen@gmx.de

Rostock: iww-rostock@systemausfall.  
org, iwwrostock.blogspot.eu

Switzerland: wobbly@gmx.net

### Greece

Greece IWW: iwwgreece@yahoo.gr

Iceland: Helmsamband  
Verkafólks / IWW Iceland, Reykja-  
víkurakademíunni 516, Hringbraut  
121, 107 Reykjavík

Lithuania: lithuania.iww@gmail.  
com

Netherlands: iww.ned@gmail.com

Norway IWW: 004793656014.  
post@iwwnorge.org. http://www.  
iwwnorge.org, www.facebook.com/  
iwwnorge. Twitter: @IWWnorge

United States  
Alabama  
Mobile: Jimmy Broadhead, del., P.O.  
Box 160073, 36616. trdg@riseup.net

Tuscaloosa: Gerald Lunn, 205-245-  
4622. gerald@lunn@gmail.com

Alaska  
Fairbanks GMB: P.O. Box 80101,  
99708, Chris White, del., 907-  
457-2543, cwhite@alaskan.com.  
Facebook: IWW Fairbanks

Arkansas  
Northwest Arkansas IWW: P.O. Box  
4062, Fayetteville, 72702-4062. iww.  
nwa@gmail.com

California  
Los Angeles GMB: P.O. Box 74344,  
90004. 323-374-3499. iwwgmba@  
gmail.com

Sacramento IWW: 916-672-8881,  
sacramento@iww.org

San Diego GMB: 619-630-5537, P.O.  
Box 882226, San Diego, CA 92168-  
2226. sandiego@iww.org

San Francisco Bay Area GMB: P.O. Box  
114172, Berkeley, 94712. 510-845-  
0540. bayarea@iww.org

San Jose: SouthBayIWW@gmail.  
com, 800.212.8174-758-7761.  
denver@iww.org

Colorado  
Denver GMB: IWW, P.O. Box 12451,  
Denver, 80212. 814-758-7761.  
denver@iww.org

Connecticut  
Connecticut: John W., del., 914-258-  
0941. johnw7813@yahoo.com

DC  
Washington DC GMB: P.O. Box 1303,  
20013. 202-630-9620. dc.iww.  
gmb@gmail.com, www.dciww.org,  
www.facebook.com/dciww

Florida  
Gainesville GMB: c/o Civic Media  
Center, 433 S. Main St., 32601.  
gainesvilleiww@gmail.com, www.  
gainesvilleiww.org

Hobe Sound: P. Shultz, 8274 SE Pine  
Circle, 33455-6608. 772-545-9591,  
okiedogg2002@yahoo.com

Orlando: Joey Leach, del., 978-424-  
8758, orlando@iww.org

South Florida GMB: P.O. Box 370457,  
33137. 305-894-6515. miami@iww.  
org, http://iwwmiami.wordpress.  
com. Facebook: Orlando IWW

Tallahassee: www.facebook.com/  
hwwtallahassee

Georgia  
Atlanta GMB: P.O. Box 5390, 31107.  
678-964-5169, contact@atl.iww.org,  
www.atliww.org

Idaho  
Boise: Ritchie Eppink, del., P.O. Box  
453, 83701. 208-371-9752, eppink@  
gmail.com

Illinois  
Chicago: Christopher Preciado,  
del., 470-326-6531. 3363823@  
gmail.com

Indiana  
Michiana GMB: Brad Laird, del., 574-  
245-0605, megard@yahoo.com

### Iowa

Eastern Iowa IWW: 319-333-2476.  
EastemlowalWW@gmail.com

### Kansas

Wichita: Richard Stephenson,  
del., 620-481-1442. barfoluma@  
gmail.com

### Kentucky

Kentucky GMB: Mick Parsons,  
Secretary Treasurer, papamick.iww@  
gmail.com. 502-658-0299

### Louisiana

Louisiana IWW: John Mark Crowder,  
del., wogodm@yahoo.com. https://  
www.facebook.com/groups/wwwof-  
nlouisiana/

### Maine

Maine IWW: 207-619-0842. maine@  
iww.org, www.southernmaine.iww.  
org

### Maryland

Baltimore GMB: P.O. Box 33350,  
21218. baltimoreiww@gmail.com

### Massachusetts

Boston Area GMB: P.O. Box 391724,  
Cambridge, 02139. 617-863-7920,  
www.boston@riseup.net, www.  
IWWBoston.org

Western Mass. Public Service IU  
650 Branch: IWW, P.O. Box 1581,  
Northampton, 01061

### Michigan

Detroit GMB: P.O. Box 32236, 48232.  
313-437-3404, detroit@iww.org

Grand Rapids GMB: P.O. Box 6629,  
49516. 616-881-5263. gr.iww@  
iww.org

Central Michigan: 5007 W. Columbia  
Rd., Mason 48854. 517-676-9446,  
happyhippie66@hotmail.com

### Minnesota

Duluth IWW: P.O. Box 3232, 55803.  
iwwduluth@riseup.net

Twin Cities GMB: 2 E. Franklin  
Ave Suite. 1, Minneapolis, 55406.  
twincities@iww.org

### Missouri

Greater Kansas City IWW: P.O.  
Box 414304, Kansas City 64141.  
816-866-3808. greaterkc.iww@  
gmail.com

St. Louis IWW: P.O. Box 63142,  
63163. Secretary: stl.iww.secre-  
tary@gmail.com. Treasurer: stl.iww.  
treasurer@gmail.com

### Montana

Construction Workers IU 330:  
Dennis Georg, del., 406-490-3869,  
tramp233@hotmail.com

Missoula IWW: Charles  
Copeland, del., 406-529-6404.  
ccopelandfm@gmail.com

Two Rivers IWW: Jim Del Duca, del.,  
106 Paisley Court, Apt. 1, Bozeman  
59715. 406-599-2463. delduca@  
gmail.com

### Nebraska

Nebraska GMB: P.O. Box 27811,  
Ralston, 68127. nebraskagmb@iww.  
org, www.nebraskaiww.org

### Nevada

Reno GMB: P.O. Box 12173, 89510.  
Paul Lenart, del., 775-513-7523,  
hekmatista@yahoo.com

IU 520 Railroad Workers: Ron  
Kaminkow, del., P.O. Box 2131,  
Reno, 89505. 608-358-5771.  
ronkaminkow@yahoo.com

### New Jersey

Central New Jersey GMB: P.O. Box  
10021, New Brunswick, 08906. 732-  
692-3491. info@newjerseyiww.org

Bob Ratynski, del., 908-285-5426.  
www.newjerseyiww.org

### New Mexico

Albuquerque GMB: abq@iww.org

### New York

New York City GMB: 45-02 23rd  
Street, Suite #2, Long Island  
City, 11101. iww-ny@iww.org.  
www.wobblycity.org

Syracuse IWW: syracuse@iww.org

Upstate NY GMB: P.O. Box 77,  
Altamont, 12009. 518-861-5627.  
gwwob56@yahoo.com

Utica IWW: Brendan Masluskas  
Dunn, del., 315-240-3149.

### Ohio

Northeast Ohio GMB: P.O. Box 1096,  
Cleveland, 44114. 440-941-0999

Ohio Valley GMB: P.O. Box 6042,  
Cincinnati 45206. 513-510-1486,  
ohiovalleyiww@gmail.com

Sweet Patches Screenprinting:  
sweetpatches@aol.com

### Oklahoma

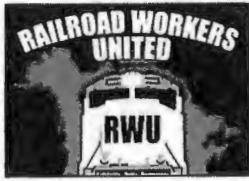
Oklahoma IWW: 539-664-6769.  
iwwoklahoma@gmail.com

### Oregon

Lane GMB: Ed Gunderson, del.,

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*The Voice of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*



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Post Office Box 180198  
Chicago, IL 60618 USA  
(773) 728-0996 • ghq@iww.org  
www.iww.org

IWW GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER:  
Arella Vargas

IWW GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:  
Michael MoonDog Garcia, Anthony  
Kaled, Marianne LeNabat, Brandon S.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER EDITOR & DESIGNER:  
Roberta McNair  
iww@iww.org

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE: Gordon Glick

COVER PHOTO: Photograph scan created by Arizona Historical Society. Striking miners and others rounded up by the armed posse on July 12, 1917, sit in the bleachers in Warren Ballpark. Armed members of the posse patrol the infield.

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Regarding the article on Direct Action in the [May Day] issue of the *Industrial Worker* I would like to take exception to the author's definition:

Direct action as seen by [our] union can be defined as the use of any tool, tactic or strategy that workers can control themselves. It means using tactics which directly address the issue. It is straight forward and simple. It succeeds or fails according to how good the idea is, how forcefully it is applied, and how appropriate it is to the situation.

Voting for candidates who promise to fix problems is not direct action. To strike, to slow down, to sit down on the job are direct actions. To walk the picket line with a fellow worker from a different trade, from a different shop, from a different nation is direct action. To symbolically protest by hanging signs on coat-hangers on a fence in hopes that it will build support or sympathy for a cause is in no way direct action regard-

less of the validity of the protest. for the works  
DJ Alperovitz

I was really confounded by the 'Coat-Hanger Direct Action' article in the last *IW*. That was not direct action, no matter how described by the well-meaning author. It was a political protest. Yes, it did help get results but they were legislative, not economic. In *IWW* we use 'direct action' to refer to actions taken directly against the boss to assert worker control in the workplace and gain improved conditions on the job. We should never use the term to refer to political protest directed at legislation; that only waters down our message and our own usage. *IWW* produces a pamphlet called "Direct Action" and it makes no reference to political protests, only to work-to-rule, slowdowns, quickie strikes, sick-ins, etc. Our One Big Union booklet discusses Direct Action specifically as economic. I have never heard the term used in any *IWW* publication to refer to anything else. Others may use the term in different ways to include marches, hanging signs on fences, or political occupations. Martin Luther King famously used it to refer to a situation where a crisis was created in order to demand a response. Fair

enough, but that is too vague for the purposes of worker actions and for *IWW* specifically. With *IWW* membership growing so rapidly, I think it is important for *IWW* publications to use consistent messaging and to be thoroughly versed in *IWW* practice and policy, so that's why I'm writing. Wobblies should know what they mean when they say 'direct action'. Please be more careful with how terms are used. Actions speak louder than words, but words also speak, particularly when we control our own press.

For the OBU,  
x331980

Dear Fellow Workers:

President Harry S. Truman proposed National Health Insurance in 1945, plus giving adequate medical facilities throughout the country, including rural areas and so-called disadvantaged areas in our cities. Additionally he wrote about "Safe water systems, sewage disposal plants and sanitary facilities" throughout the nation. Not only do we not have that, but Flint, Michigan has had a crisis of unsafe and unhealthy water due to a terrible "Emergency Manager" law and false economy. And the nation has put up [with it] for a long time.

In solidarity,  
Raymond S. Solomon **IW**



## GCI NLRB win

June 4, 2017  
Fellow Workers,

On behalf of the Ypsilanti GMB, I am proud to announce the NLRB election win that they are enjoying as of Friday against Grassroots Campaigns Inc. (GCI). Their election victory today means that the *IWW* now has another federally recognized union shop!

I wish to wholeheartedly congratulate the fellow workers at GCI and in Ypsilanti on their stunning success! Their victory is representative of what we can do when we stand in solidarity with one another.

For the Growth and Prosperity of the One Big Union,

Derek Milbocker  
Branch Secretary-Treasurer  
*IWW* Detroit GMB

# An open letter to our allies in the fight for safe rails and a sustainable environment

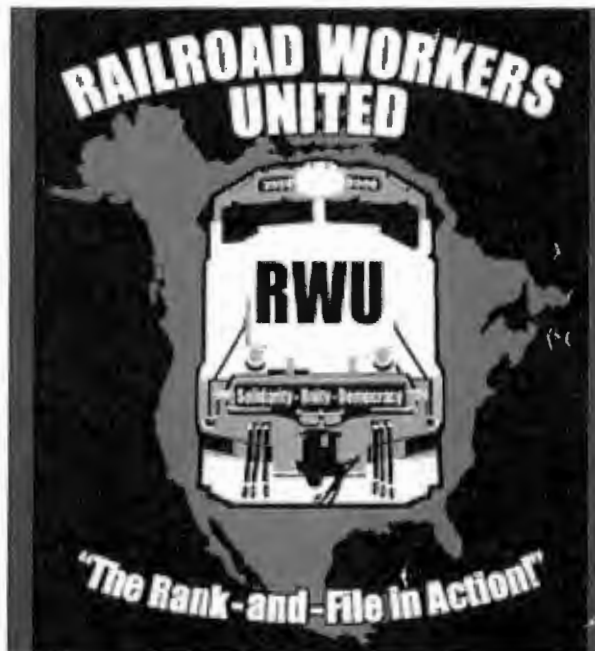
July 6th marked four years since a runaway train carrying volatile Bakken crude crashed and burned in the small town of Lac-Mégantic, Quebec, killing 47 and destroying half the town. It's time to recommit to making sure tragedies like this don't happen again. It's also the right time to speak up against the criminal trial beginning in early September this year, that unfairly and inaccurately hangs the Lac-Mégantic crash on two railroad workers.

Some of us focus on how dangerous this kind of cargo is. Trains carrying volatile crude are called "bomb trains" for a reason. Some of us focus more on rail safety, no matter what or who is on the train. We push for safer work schedules and big enough train crews to handle an unusual situation or an emergency. Railroad managers push hard to squeeze every dollar they can out of every train run. The Lac-Mégantic train had a dangerous cargo, a single crewmember, and work rules that cut the margin of safety down to just about zero. The result was a disaster that still impacts the Lac-Mégantic community.

You'd expect railroaders to point the finger at management. But we're not the only ones. Multiple government safety investigations and independent journalists looked at what happened in Lac-Mégantic and came to the same conclusion. Railroad management policies made this kind of runaway train crash likely to happen sooner or later. Lax government oversight looked the other way until it did.

You would think that four years later there would be stronger safety regulations on every railroad, with extra layers of protection for dangerous cargo. Sadly, this

is still not the case. Railroad policymakers are still cutting corners and government regulators are still looking the other way.



They want people to believe that the big safety problem is a few careless railroad workers.

Even after all the reports and exposes, the Canadian and Quebec governments are still not going after the railroad policy makers and their unsafe policies. Instead railroad workers Tom Harding and Richard Labrie will be on trial this fall in Quebec. The managers who made the critical policies will not even get a slap on the wrist. That's just wrong, and it guarantees that the danger continues. Every year since the crash, the number of reported runaway trains in Canada has increased. That's a sign of a reckless culture, not the actions of two railroad workers one night

in Quebec.

Whether your main issue is the environment, community safety, rail safety, or workers' rights, it comes down to stronger government regulations and stronger railroad safety policies, with real community and labor enforcement. The two railroad workers were not the cause of the Lac-Mégantic crash or any of the runaway trains since then. They are not the ones still running trains right through the town of Lac-Mégantic, ignoring the demands of the survivors for a simple rail bypass. The people in Lac-Mégantic know that sending Harding and Labrie to prison won't address any of their problems with the railroad. But if that happens, you can bet the government will close the book as the official verdict on Lac-Mégantic and railroad management will be standing there with them.

Railroad Workers United marked the Lac-Mégantic anniversary wherever we were. We stood in solidarity with the people of Lac-Mégantic like we have for four years, and talked about rail safety. That's who we are.

And we made sure to point out that scapegoating two railroad workers for this tragedy will make railroads and communities across the continent less safe.

We hope that when you held public commemorations this year, you made this point your way. Blaming Harding and Labrie for the Lac-Mégantic tragedy weakens all of us and all our causes. So all of us have to speak up.

Justice for Lac-Mégantic requires dropping the charges against Harding and Labrie.

**Railroad Workers United**  
Solidarity | Unity | Democracy  
*The Rank & File in Action!*  
railroadworkersunited.org  
info@railroadworkersunited.org

**IW**

# Western Wobs gather for Regional Organizing Assembly

By x331980

Nearly thirty IWW members met in Olympia Washington over the Memorial Day weekend for the biannual West Coast Regional Organizing Assembly (ROA). Members came from branches at Vancouver Island, Whatcom-Skagit, Seattle, Olympia, Portland, and Las Vegas for presentations and discussion on IWW organizing campaigns. The presentation by young women workers from IWW's Burgerville Workers Union inspired all and the applause was long and loud. We posed for a solidarity photo to encourage the BVWU campaign.

Another enlightening presentation told of lessons learned from hot shop cam-

paigns, such as United Campaign Workers and others in the region. The talk included a workshop based on details of actual hot shop calls received by Portland IWW; we all role-played responses to such out-of-the-blue calls for assistance. Fellow Workers Ash and Alex told us of work by Portland IWW's on behalf of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC). A very knowledgeable and thoughtful talk on the "sword" vs. "shield" aspects of US labor law by FW Luis was among the high points of the weekend.

We heard an orientation to the IWW's Organizer Training 101 from FW Greg and learned that several IWWs are attending Training for Trainers in the Twin Cities later this summer, swelling the number of

OT instructors in the region. FWs Dylan and Tuck shared brief histories of the origin and activities of fast-growing branches in Olympia and Whatcom-Skagit. They described what has worked—and not worked—to build better General Membership Branches, gain members, and initiate campaigns there.

Fellowship and solidarity were a big part of the assembly. There was plenty of time for IWWs to meet members from other places and make connections for coordinated organizing and outreach projects, or to just get acquainted. The revolution is personal, and such contacts make IWW's member democracy much stronger.

The next West Coast ROA will be in 2019. **IW**



Wobblies at the Regional Organizing Assembly in Olympia, WA

## Community organizing versus workplace organizing

By Austin Biddle

There seems to be a dispute arising about exactly how the IWW should organize, either community organizing or workplace organizing. I do not think these two things are mutually exclusive; I think one can be done without compromising the other. For instance, my hometown of about 5,000 people is an economically depressed town where there is an opioid epidemic and crime is on the rise. The conditions are such that I can organize the community and build up enough commu-

nity solidarity that we can influence local politics and create a more working class-friendly community. This will undoubtedly have a positive impact on local workplaces as the solidarity will spill over into the workplace. If it is not a union shop, it will be much easier to then organize that workplace, as the foundation of solidarity is already engrained within the people.

This approach may not suit all communities, however. More affluent communities where the economy is good and generally things are good overall are not

conditions in which community organizing will be easy or even possible. Therefore in situations like this it may be more logical to focus on organizing workplaces of the local people. This will have the same effect as community organizing in that the solidarity of the workers will spill out into the community, and then it will be much easier to organize that community. The foundation of solidarity has already been built in the workplace.

Currently I am organizing my old

*Continued on page 9*

# One organizer's perspective on what drew them to the General Defense Committee

By x382089

The election of Donald Trump was a shock for me. I had visions of state power accelerating its assault against immigrants, of police violence escalating, and of an emboldened far right attacking people on the streets.

I have been organizing with the IWW for some time. I was drawn to the union because of its long history and its approach to class struggle. The militant labor-based radicalism appealed to me. I liked that the union was nonsectarian, and it had a historic affinity with anti-authoritarianism, anti-oppression, direct action, and direct democracy. I also felt that the left needed structured, dues-and-membership-based organizations in order to develop and maintain its members' skills and build power from one fight to the next.

After the election I wanted to prepare for a right-wing onslaught. I'd been thinking about the need for community defense-based organizations for a while, but suddenly it seemed urgent. I wanted to work towards building a group that could help our region be prepared for what I feared was coming. I wanted that group to be situated within the IWW to build on the strengths that drew me to the union. Fortunately, the model to do that already existed.

At convention in 2016 I had been impressed with the report of the General Defense Committee (GDC). Fellow workers, starting in the Twin Cities, had been building the sort of organization I wanted to see in the Pacific Northwest: A diverse group of people—members of the Incarcerated Workers' Organizing Committee, the African People's Caucus, and veterans of Anti-Racist Action—was taking the IWW's working-class organizing outside the shop. People of color and white radicals were coming together in one group, united by common politics. They were taking a holistic approach to resisting the spectrum of oppression that the owning class brings to bear on the rest of us, not only with anti-fascist and anti-police violence organizing, but also with harm reduction-based drug-user support and sexual violence-survivor solidarity. They were organized, they were growing rapidly, and they were doing

amazing work.

I came to appreciate what the GDC was doing more over time. The barrier that confronts the working class isn't simply capitalism; it is a white-supremacist, imperialist, hetero-normative, patriarchal capitalism. It confronts us in the workplace, but also on the streets of our towns and cities, in prisons, and in cultural and political institutions. The working class isn't a unitary identity: It is divided by fis-



tures that the ruling class has always used to divide us. The IWW has always understood this, shown by the union's historic efforts to organize the working class and its insistence that this include women, people of color, immigrants, and all other workers together right from the outset.

We can't stand aside in the face of the worst attacks on the most vulnerable members of the working class because they are perpetrated on the streets or in bars and alleys instead of on the job. For an organization as heterogeneous as the IWW to have credibility among all working people, we have to be involved in struggles that inordinately impact the most marginalized workers. If we show up for these fights, we earn respect and our strengths are given an opportunity to shine. It allows us to highlight how far-right agendas are dangerous

and show that divisive attacks on working people can lead to a common catastrophe that only a united front across the working class can counter.

Assaults on working people are already escalating. In Olympia, Washington, where I live, we recently have seen Nazi skinhead organizing, vicious attacks on trans people, a racially motivated knife attack against an interracial couple, an attempt to run over two black youths, the shooting of two young black men by police over an attempt to steal a 12-pack of beer, and multiple demonstrations organized by the far right and attended by right-wing militia members, white supremacists, and bikers. On Inauguration Day in nearby Seattle, we saw the shooting of an IWW and GDC member by a Trump supporter. We can't depend on the police or the legal system to defend us; the state is not neutral. The only sane response is to organize for the defense of the working class.

The GDC approach to the rising tide of right-wing violence and fascism has been mass-oriented anti-fascism. This doesn't mean dressing like a ninja and punching Nazis (though most of us in the GDC appreciate and approve of a good Nazi-punching). The GDC as an organization doesn't take that approach. We also think there are limits to what can be achieved by an elite vanguard carrying out technical operations against their counterparts on the other side. Those fights are often vital, but we believe that major victories depend on working people finding their own power en masse and beginning to build a new world in the shell of the old. We organize, we work in solidarity with the goals of oppressed people, we build capacity to help provide security for targeted communities, we gather intelligence, and we work to share the skills and lessons we have learned widely.

What I would most like to see my fellow workers take away is the value of the work the GDC is doing for the working class and the union. I encourage you strongly to support the GDC. Become a member. Form a local, if you don't already have one where you are. Then organize and fight back! **IW**

# Revolutionary unionism or white workerism: The choice facing the IWW

By Brandon S. and Natalia R.

One hundred years ago, on August 1, 1917, Frank Little was lynched while organizing copper miners in Butte, Montana. Just one week earlier, at a General Executive Board meeting in Chicago, he was the lone voice calling for the IWW to oppose conscription for World War I, in line with the 1916 Convention's anti-war resolution. The rest of the Board refused out of fear of repression, and saying that they should keep focusing on workplace activity. Frank's last letter before his murder was to "Big" Bill Haywood, the GEB Chair, urging him to have the GEB come out against conscription. As Frank predicted, the repression came anyways, and Big Bill died in exile in Russia.

We are seeing history repeat itself in bizarre, pathetic miniature. As a union, we haven't adequately acknowledged the reality of increasing state repression and a growing, violent far-right. We haven't acknowledged the growing possibilities for the IWW to expand as people are attracted to our model: The recent spike in membership is dismissively referred to as a "Trump bump." We barely responded to the attempted political murder of one of our members in Seattle, or to the mass arrest and felony charges of many of our members at the protest of Donald Trump's inauguration. More recently, we had nothing to say or do after the racist murders in Portland, despite the Ferguson solidarity motion from our 2014 Convention that commits us to organizing against white supremacy. The IWW has an incredible opportunity to grow and to make itself relevant in this moment, but we are stuck at an impasse and seem paralyzed. How did we get here, and how can we get beyond it?

The same tension between narrow economism and revolutionary unionism that we faced in 1917 is still with us, and in many respects our vision of "the working class" hasn't changed since then. Many working class people don't see a relevance in our model, and that fault lies with us, not with them. Specifically, we fail to engage with struggles related to race and gender, especially when they happen outside the workplace. The tension between revolutionary unionism and economism is really a tension between a holistic revolutionary unionism and white workerism. (I am adapting the concept of white feminism, a term often used by women of

color to describe the ways that the "official" feminist movement focuses primarily on the needs of straight, cis, upper-class women, to the exclusion of other women.) We say that our mission is to build a revolutionary movement of the entire working class. We can't do that if we fail on race, gender, or other oppressions that involve non-workplace struggles. This is an urgent, life-or-death situation for the union.

It is crucial for us to link together struggles against racism, sexism, and class exploitation and oppression. It's not about figuring out how to "add" anti-racism and anti-sexism to an otherwise awesome program that is totally focused on the workplace. It's about figuring out how to find the intersections of those struggles from the start. (I will come back to this point.)

This isn't just about a few individuals. This is about an overall culture within the union that often elevates a "workerist" identity politics, and a narrow focus on "pure" workplace organizing, over a coherent, holistic revolutionary unionist program. We won't solve this just by dealing with a few individuals and going back to "how it was." We need to examine where this economism comes from, and then develop a revolutionary program that will make us relevant to the entire working class.

CLR James has a great perspective on the way that independent struggles can and do reinforce each other. To paraphrase him, the independent black movement has its own validity and vitality, it has deep historic roots in the US, it can intervene with terrific force on the nation without needing to be led by the labor movement, it can exercise a powerful influence on the wider working class, and it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism. Describing a 1943 rebellion in Detroit, he writes: "the struggle which began by Negro militants in the Negro community fighting purely for Negro rights ... resulted ultimately in—let us put it mildly—the beginnings of an alliance, a political alliance between the Negro community and the organized labor movement in Detroit."

According to James, the independent black struggle at the time brought the labor movement along behind it. These struggles intersected and mutually reinforced each other, and it wasn't just a case of "the class struggle" coming first. We've seen this more recently with the 2005 "Day

Without an Immigrant," which brought May Day back to the US, and which most business unions eventually joined. Very recently, we saw it with the reaction to the racist murders in Portland, with the transit drivers' union explicitly opposing the mayor's call to increase police presence on the trains. It is impossible to imagine any union taking such a powerful anti-cop line before the Ferguson rebellion. (When Oscar Grant and Philando Castile were murdered, neither of their unions did anything, because they have entirely limited their scope of action to the workplace.)

The Twin Cities IWW and General Defense Committee (GDC) in recent years have built a powerful living example of holistic revolutionary unionism. Their participation in Occupy attracted many folks who wanted to organize at work. Some of them got jobs at UPS and tried to agitate around "traditional" workplace issues like poverty wages, abusive managers, or dangerous working conditions. Their co-workers basically ignored them. In 2014, when the struggle exploded in Ferguson, they discussed stopping police shipments to Ferguson, and this immediately generated a ton of excitement, leading to the infamous "Hands Up, Don't Ship" action. As they said, "We want to put forward a simple idea: We shouldn't be forced to contribute to racism, brutality, or murder in order to pay our rent." This created a positive feedback loop, where they successfully fought several firings, created more high-paid jobs in their building than came from the '97 strike, and confronted sexism, homophobia, and transphobia among their co-workers (which they wrote about in *You better work: Queer/trans\*/feminist worker stories*.)

"Hands Up, Don't Ship" contributed to the formation of the African People's Caucus (APC) in the Twin Cities branch. When Jamar Clark was murdered by Minneapolis police in 2015, and an occupation began in front of the police station, the Twin Cities IWW, GDC, and APC participated very heavily. Their commitment during this occupation seems to have been a watershed moment for the branch. The branch had begun to make itself relevant to the struggles and oppressions that many working class people of color experience outside of the workplace. Recently, the APC, GDC, and the IWW's education workers committee (Social Justice Educa-

tion Movement or SJEM) successfully worked together to prevent construction of a youth prison. SJEM has also recently successfully reversed racist firings in schools through mass action involving education workers as well as the community.

Instead of learning from the Twin Cities, a vocal group of members have tried to minimize this development, arguing that anything being done outside of strict workplace organizing is a "distraction," or that "it's not IWW work." This has become especially common since Trump's election, as many branches and GDC locals have found new relevance in the Twin Cities model.

The IWW is the only organization

in North America that teaches workers how to fight at work without relying on a reformist business union. That is incredibly important, but it can't be everything. Our implicit idea of the "average" worker is wrong and exclusionary. It envisions someone without any struggles outside of their workplace, nor having to deal with sexism, racism, homophobia, or ableism in their workplace. In short, we have assumed the "average" worker to be a white, able-bodied straight male US citizen with a job and no kids. We'll only move past this by recognizing and confronting it.

Ironically, white workerism has hit a wall in its ability to find relevance for the IWW model at work, while the branches

basing themselves on holistic revolutionary unionism have seen a surge of new workplace campaigns. We saw in the Twin Cities that the experience with workplace pickets and at UPS prepared the branch to engage with movement against police terrorism, and that years of radical organizing among education workers prepared them to organize against the construction of the youth prison, both of which then reinforced possibilities for workplace organizing. The workplace and non-workplace organizing are both independently important, but together they have mutually reinforced each other and led to a wider and wider arena for struggle in the Twin Cities. This has also begun to happen in Raleigh-Durham and other cities.

This is an exciting thing for all of us to see and support. One of this article's authors was skeptical about the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC) and the GDC until eight months ago but realized they were wrong. The explosive growth that they are enabling as they make the IWW relevant to very different groups of workers from the ones we have appealed to in the past deserves to be recognized, celebrated, and encouraged.

There are two choices facing us right now: We can continue to cling to a narrow vision, close our eyes to what is happening around us, and languish in obscurity, as any future working-class rebellions leave us in the dust. Or, we can embrace a holistic revolutionary unionism, and form a meaningful part of a creative, militant, and rebellious class-wide movement that simultaneously challenges all oppressions and prepares for a post-capitalist society.

If we're serious about growing and becoming relevant to the entire working class, it's way past time to confront, cast out, and finally abandon white workerism. **IW**



Photo by Daniel Hosterman

June 10, 2017, Raleigh, NC, United Against Islamophobia and Racism Rally. Organized by Movement to End Racism and Islamophobia, NC Asian Americans Together, and Muslims for Social Justice, who asked IWW and Redneck Revolt to help organize/lead the mass demo.

### *Continued from page 6*

hometown, which is a far different place than when I lived there as a child. I am organizing workplaces there and in my current city of Toledo. I plan on organizing both the workplace and my community and am working with others in this process. I think it is a bit short sighted to focus on one or the other, as both can be done simultaneously. Sure, it requires a lot of work, but that is our job as organizers. While we may work tirelessly, at the same time we must be wise in our work so we aren't wasting valuable time. If the intended community does not meet the

conditions that make organizing a possibility, then the organizer should focus on the workplace, which almost always meets the conditions required for organization.

I would likely never go into an affluent community and try to convince them that they need organizing or to join the IWW. What need do they have to organize if they are well off? What need can the IWW fulfill if they already have good paying jobs and the community is working well for them? In that case, I would focus on workplaces first before approaching the community. When the community is in bad condition, it is far easier to organize

because they have a need for it. The IWW can fulfill this need.

Essentially we should be doing both but be doing them in a productive manner and not spending time exclusively on one or the other. Let your organizing never cease; no matter where you go you should be organizing and educating people. But be cautious in that you could be spending time on something that will never come to fruition. There are people, for instance, that choose to be willfully ignorant and no matter what you say they will not hear you. **IW**

bin. A 1917 penny for each deported man and a custom-built penny press vending machine that has four designs commemorating the deported: the Undesirables themselves, radical labor leaders the Magón brothers; Rosa McKay, a left-wing state legislator of Arizona; and the IWW's Preamble. Also included is her curated series of pamphlets, sound art, and text-based artwork. "The Undesirables" includes a gallery talk, which McKenna has named the Gallery Rally. **IWW**

# Thursday July 12, 1917

## Article written for **Appeal to Reason** (Girard, Kansas)

By Mrs. Rosa McKay, Member Arizona House of Representatives  
Published by Julius A. Wayland, Sat., Aug. 18, 1917

For fourteen years I have claimed Bisbee as my home. But after Thursday the twelfth of July, I hang my head in shame and sorrow for the sights I have witnessed here. When the full truth about Bisbee reaches the outside world, it will be looked upon with deserved aversion.

In this article I shall give an honest and unbiased statement from the fair and impartial standpoint, of the labor situation in Bisbee today. I belong to no labor organization or mining corporation. I am merely an onlooker and a spectator, and a firm believer in the constitutional rights of all American citizens, whether by birth or naturalization, the rights that our forefathers fought, bled and died for.

On June 27 of this year the Industrial Workers of the World declared a strike here, and the majority of the workers of the district responded. It is claimed by the union officials that eighty percent answered the call, while the companies, through the press, conceded thirty percent. However, that matters but little, the fact is that the companies were crippled, one shutting down entirely, and the production of the copper was curtailed to a great extent.

It was admitted by hundreds of men that I talked to personally, that the demands of the strikers were very reasonable, and that the men asked for nothing that they were not entitled to, being the abolishment of the sliding scale, the medical examination, and a flat daily wage of six dollars for eight hours. There were a few other demands of less importance, all for the betterment of conditions of all the underground workers.

During the two weeks that elapsed between the calling of the strike and the deportation, to my own knowledge and observation there were no acts of violence committed, and the law was abided by and obeyed to the very utmost. The men all seemed patient and cool and at all times conducted themselves in a gentlemanly manner.

On the eleventh day of July, the city park, that was built with money contributed by the public and dedicated to the

use of the public, was closed to the strikers. There were many among them that had contributed. That being the only place where they could hold their public meetings, it hurt, of course, but they took it calmly and good naturedly, and many remarked that perhaps it was for the best.

On the following morning a posse organized by the sheriff Harry Wheeler of Cochise County, and composed of in the neighborhood of a thousand men, the majority of the business men of the district and the "Workmen's Loyalty League" which comprised all the men that remained loyal to the companies, invaded the entire district, armed with guns of all sizes and descriptions. Some had clubs. Every man who was known to be, or who declared himself to be a striker or strike sympathizer, was taken peaceably or by force, and marched down, at the point of a gun, to where

Warren, they in- at the park little load- in cars cat- and out Co- bus Mexico.

Two were sacrificed. One of the men killed was a company employee, and a member of the sheriff's posse. The other man who forfeited his life was a peaceful law-abiding citizen, of an excellent character and reputation. He was not a member of the I.W.W. but had come out on strike, because he believed the demands the boys were making were fair and reasonable, and if he could not help their cause he would not deter it. Many other good, loyal American citizens, good workers, old timers, property owners, taxpayers took the same stand. Had this man belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World, this sad tragedy would no doubt have been averted, for their policy was law and order, and each member was instructed to offer no resistance, resort to no violence, no matter what took place.

This man had not been counseled, he

had no instructions other than those his own free conscience gave. So he said the night previous to a friend, when he learned of the raid that was to take place, that "if they came after him they would have to take him dead," for he had committed no crime, violated no laws and he did not care to be disturbed. He must have meant what he said, for that fatal morning, when the deputy walked up to the steps of his door and knocked, he asked who was there. He was told it was an officer of the law, who wanted him. He asked if he had a warrant and what the charge was. He was told there was no warrant and that none was necessary, and if he did not come right out he would be dragged out. His reply was a bullet in the officer's face. As he stepped out on the porch to see who the man was that was intruding upon his rights, another deputy stood in the yard nearby and shot him through the heart, thereby doubling the tragedy. ...

For the first time in my residence in Arizona I was insulted by some of those gunmen. I also saw a man wearing a star strike a woman in the chest, and there were other such cases, from all I can learn.

On visiting Columbus, New Mexico, where the deported men were in camp, a week later, I called on one of the military officers in charge and asked him if he would give me some information that I was looking for. The information that I was seeking was to find out definitely the correct and exact number of married men, etc., and he furnished me with the follow- ings.

Married Men	433
Men with Children	309
Registered for the Draft	472
Paid up Liberty Bonds	205
Membership for the Red Cross	520
Property Owners	266
Naturalized Citizens	468

Is the American government, that we have loved and upheld since our birth, going to stand for such lawlessness and deportation?

Will Uncle Sam investigate this matter and bring those responsible for these detestable and shameful acts to account?

All these facts, upon investigation, can be substantiated by eyewitnesses; A federal investigation is surely in order.

*Appeal to Reason* was a weekly left-wing newspaper published in Girard, Kansas, from 1895 until 1922. From 1901 onwards, it was considered the bastion publication of the Socialist Party. **IW**

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This man had not been counseled, he

## Los Hermanos Flores Magón

Brothers Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón were born in Oaxaca and educated in Mexico City, where they founded the newspaper *Regeneración* and the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) to agitate for the overthrow of President Porfirio Díaz. Díaz, who ruled Mexico with an iron fist from 1884 to 1911, had opened the country to massive foreign investments, particularly in mining and railroads. He was called "the mother of foreigners and the stepmother of Mexicans." Ricardo Flores Magón began as a reformer intent on overthrowing the dictatorship, but by 1910, when the Revolution began, he declared himself an anarchist—against the state, the church, wage slavery, and property rights.

The Flores Magón brothers were imprisoned in Mexico, then forced into exile in the U.S. in 1904, where they formed alliances with socialists and anarchists and resumed publication of *Regeneración*. Ricardo became an organizer with the IWW.

The brothers were harassed by private detectives in the pay of Mexican authorities and by U.S. officials; they and their associates endured deportation, extradition, and incarceration; and *Regeneración* was shut down again and again. In 1918, Ricardo was tried and convicted for sedition, sentenced to 20 years in Leavenworth



Penitentiary, Kansas, and died four years later. Though the Mexican Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution requesting Ricardo's corpse, U.S. authorities denied

the request:

The undersigned Deputies, animated by the desire of rendering posthumous homage to the grand Mexican revolutionary, Ricardo Flores Magón, martyr and apostle of libertarian ideas, who has just died poor and blind in the cell of a Yankee prison, propose that this honorable Assembly pass the following resolution: That there be brought to rest in the soil of his native land, at the expense of the Mexican Government, the mortal remains of Ricardo Flores Magón. We request that this be acted upon immediately without reference to committee.

(Signed) Julian S. Gonzalez, Antonio G. Rivera, E. Baron Obregon, J. M. Alvarez Del Castillo, A. Diaz Soro Y Gama, and others.

Hall of the Mexican Congress, Mexico, D.F., November 22, 1922.

In 1945, Ricardo's remains were taken from his grave in Los Angeles and repatriated. Lauded as a precursor of the Revolution of 1910, his coffin was met at the border and escorted to Mexico City where he was given a state funeral. **TW**

## Mexicans and the Bisbee Deportation

By Beth Henson

When prospectors hit pay dirt in southern Arizona during the 1870s, Mexicans had been doing hard-rock mining since the sixteenth century. Mexican miners crossed the border both ways in search of work. Radical and anarchist ideas circulated easily as well, through the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) led by the Flores Magón brothers and their newspaper, *Regeneración*. Douglas, Arizona, was an important magonista center, with 300 members in its club "Libertad." The magonistas were anarchists and ignored the border—they recognized no government or national boundaries.

Numerous incidents preceded the IWW Deportation in Bisbee. In 1903, Mexican miners struck at the Clifton-Morenci mine and were defeated by a torrential flood. In Cananea in 1906, they struck for equality with U.S. workers. That strike was suppressed when the Sonoran governor called for help from U.S. volunteers, many of them Arizona Rangers. In 1915, a seventy-five percent Mexican workforce struck at the Clifton-Morenci Mercantile mine again, this time winning substantial improvements. In April 1917, labor resistance at the Nacozari mine closed it temporarily. In June, workers at the nearby El Tigre mine

went on strike.

Mexican miners on both sides of the border raised the same demands: equality with non-Mexican workers, higher pay, and better conditions. *Regeneración* circulated widely among these militant workers and many were members of the PLM, whose agents moved continually among Arizona-Sonoran mining camps, including those in Bisbee.

U.S. labor unions excluded Mexican workers, weakening their own cause. Bisbee was a "white man's camp," where Mexicans were kept from doing skilled underground work, no matter how experienced they were. Phelps Dodge & Co. practiced a dual-wage system, with a different hourly rate for Mexicans and non-Mexicans, even for the same jobs. Living conditions were also discriminatory.

Unlike other unions, the Wobblies championed the "unskilled" worker and were truly internationalist. They had extensive ties with the magonistas and engaged the first Mexican organizers in Bisbee. Many Bisbee Mexicans were veterans of the 1906 strike in Cananea. One strike demand was that above-ground wages be doubled while underground rates be raised only 50%, abolishing the dual-wage system. But the strike was defeated. Even though only 13% of the deportees were Mexican workers, more than double that number of Mexicans were deported, targeted by vigi-

lantes even if they were not striking workers. Later investigators gathering testimony about the deportation failed to interview any Mexican.

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# The Apostle

By Ricardo Flores Magón

Crossing fields, crossing highways, stepping over the thorns, walking between the rocky highlands, consumed by the ravenously thirsty dryness in his mouth—that is how the Revolutionary Delegate goes on his intended undertaking of persuading under the avenging sun, it seemed, daringly hurling him with its fierce flames; but the Delegate does not stop; he does not want to waste a minute. From some shacks come out rotten mean dogs, to chase him, as hostile as the miserable dwellers of those shacks, laughing spitefully at the apostle, who brings them the good news.

The Delegate moves forward; he wants to get to that group of nice little houses close to the bottom of the high mountain, where he has been told there are some comrades. The heat of the sun is unbearable; hunger and thirst debilitate him as much as the tiring walk, but his lucid mind has the fresh idea as clear as the water from the mountain, beautiful as a flower where there is no place for the threat of the tyrant. So is the idea: intrusion to oppression.

The Delegate walks, walks. The deserted fields oppress his heart. How many families could live in abundance if all this land would not be controlled by a few ambitious people! The Delegate follows his way; a snake rattles under the dusty bush; the crickets fill the noisy rumor of the hot ambient; a cow moos from afar.

Finally, the Delegate arrives at the village, where—he has been told—there are comrades. The dogs, alarmed, bark from the doors of the small houses, indifferent faces lean out. There is a group of men and women under a porch. The apostle approaches; the men see him and contract their eyebrows; the women see him with distrust.

"Good afternoon, comrades," says the Delegate.

The group looks at each other. Nobody

answers the greeting. The apostle does not give up, and again says:

"Comrades, the propagandist continues, the tyranny is swaying; strong men have taken arms to demolish it, and only we hope that all of us, without exception, help in any manner we can those who fight for freedom and justice."

The

women



yawn; the men scratch their heads, a hen crosses between the group, followed by a rooster.

"Friends"—continues the indefatigable propagandist of the good news—"liberty requires sacrifices; your life is hard; you have no satisfaction; the future of your children is uncertain. Why are you indifferent before the abnegation of the ones who have thrown themselves into the struggle on behalf of your happiness, to free you, so your little children would be happier than you? Help, help, however you can, give part of your salaries to promote the Revolution, or bear arms if you so prefer; but do something for the cause, at least propagate the ideals of the insurrection."

The Delegate pauses. An eagle passes, swaying in the clear sky, as if it could have been a symbol of the thought of that man

who, being among human swine, would keep himself very high, very pure, very white.

Bugs, buzzing, in and out of the mouth of a sleeping old man. Men, visibly worried, were leaving, one by one; the women had all left. Finally, the Delegate is left alone with the old man who is sleeping away his drunkenness and a dog that furiously bites the flies that suck his coat. Not even a penny had come out from those sordid pockets, not even a glass of water had been offered to that answering man, who, casting a compassionate look to that egoistic and stupid den, started to walk toward another shack. When he passed in front of a tavern, he could see those miserable men he had spoken to, drinking huge glasses of wine, giving the bourgeoisie what they did not give to the Revolution, clinking the chains of their children, with their indifference and selfishness.

The news of the coming of the apostle had extended around the whole town, and, the alerted dwellers closed their doors when the Delegate would approach.

Meanwhile, a man, who appeared to be a worker, came heaving towards the police office.

"Sir," said the man to the police officer, "how much do you pay for handing over a revolutionary?"

"Twenty reales," said the officer.

The dealing was done; Judas had lowered the tariff. Moments later, the man, tied elbow to elbow, was pushed to jail. He fell, and a blacked out was lifted by the executioner, amongst the laughing, drunken slaves. Some kids were enjoying throwing handfuls of dirt into the eyes of the martyr, who was no other than the apostle, the one that had crossed fields, traveled highways, over hawthorn, pebbly land, dried, thirsty mouth devouring him, but with a lucid, clear mind, carrying with him the idea of regeneration for the human race, by way of comfort and freedom. FW

(From *Regeneración*, no. 19, January 7, 1911.)

# Frank Little and the IWW: The Blood That Stained an American Family

Franklin Henry Little (1878–1917),  
an organizer for the Western Federation

of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), fought in some of the early twentieth century's most contentious labor and free speech struggles. Following his lynching in Butte, Montana, his life and legacy became shrouded in tragedy and family secrets. In *Frank Little and the IWW*, author Jane Little Botkin chronicles her great-granduncle's fascinating life and reveals its connections to the history of American labor and the first Red Scare.

Beginning with Little's childhood in Missouri and territorial Oklahoma, Botkin recounts his evolution as a renowned organizer and agitator on behalf of workers in corporate agriculture, oil, logging, and mining. Frank Little traveled the West and Midwest to gather workers beneath the banner of the Wobblies, making soapbox speeches on city street corners, organizing strikes, and writing polemics against unfair labor practices. His brother and sister-in-law also joined the fight for labor, but it was Frank who led the charge—and who was regularly threatened, incarcerated, and assaulted for his efforts. In his final battles in Arizona and Montana,

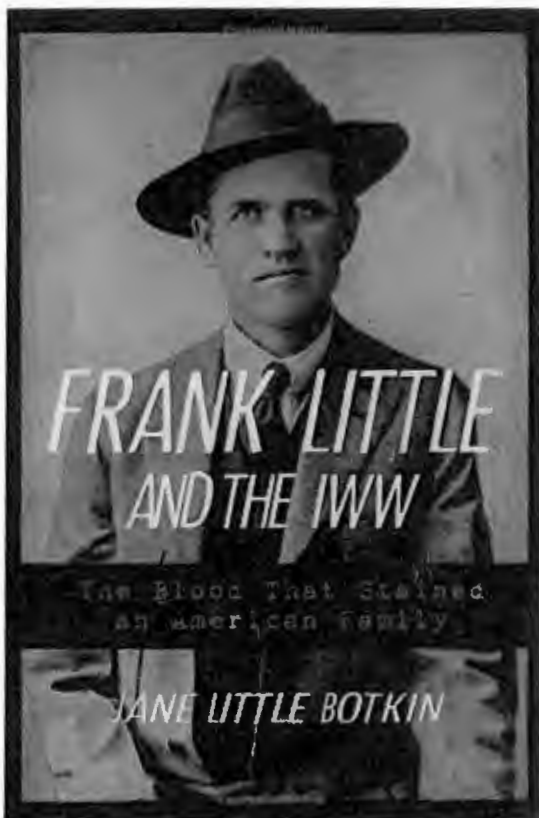
Botkin shows, Little and the IWW leadership faced their strongest opponent yet as powerful copper magnates countered union efforts with deep-laid networks of spies and gunmen, an antilabor press, and local vigilantes.

For a time, Frank Little's murder became a rallying cry for the IWW. But after the United States entered the Great War and Congress passed the Sedition Act (1918) to ensure support for the war effort, many politicians and corporations used the act to target labor "radicals," squelch dissent, and inspire vigilantism. Like other wage-working families smeared with the traitor label, the Little family endured raids, arrests, and indictments in IWW trials.

Having scoured the West for firsthand sources in family library, and museum collections, Botkin melds the personal narrative of an American family with the story of labor movements that once shook the nation to the core. In doing so, she throws into sharp relief the lingering consequences of political repression. **IW**

Retired from a thirty-year teaching career in Texas public schools, Jane Little Botkin is an independent historian.

*Frank Little and the IWW* by Jane Little Botkin is available from online booksellers, in bookstores, and directly from the University of Oklahoma Press: 1 800 627 7377 or [www.oupres.com](http://www.oupres.com).



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Cut on the dotted line.

# Revolutionaries on Revolution

By Raymond S. Solomon

Three visionaries who tried to radically change the world—who aimed at ending starvation, poverty, exploitation, and war—were John Reed, George Orwell, and Pierre van Paassen. Reed's vision was rooted in the Industrial Workers of the World, the Mexican revolution, the IWW-led strike in Patterson, New Jersey, and the hopes of Russia's revolutionary workers. George Orwell had seen the beginnings of socialism in the Anarcho-Syndicalist revolution in Spain, and he wrote about far-reaching reforms needed in Britain and the need for world-wide efforts to bring the standard of living of the world up to that of Britain. Pierre van Paassen's socialist vision was rooted in his Calvinist faith.

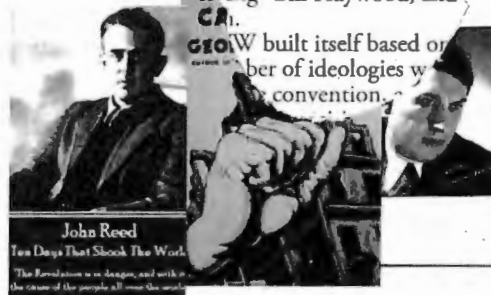
John Reed believed in the IWW, as I wrote about in a previous article.<sup>1</sup> This was Reed's predisposition when he went to Revolutionary Russia during the time of the provisional governments in 1917, after the abdication of the Czar in March 1917. In *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Reed conveyed the hope, solidarity, and the support of different political parties that accompanied the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917. *Ten Days* was read by many people who could feel what Reed observed. These people included Wobbly organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and Lenin himself.

But Russia today has hardly fulfilled John Reed's hope. Under the Soviet government Russia had made great strides. The number of doctors was dramatically increased, illiteracy was wiped out, the USSR led in the space-race, many scientists and engineers were educated, and there was a large degree of industrialization. In contrast, there were mass deportations under Stalin, there was an imposed famine in Ukraine during the 1930s, purges took place in which hundreds of thousands of people were shot, and the executions included among its victims many Russian Communist Party members. And in post-Soviet Union Russia, the proverbial baby was thrown out, but the proverbial bath water was kept. One example is that many seniors live in dire poverty because they have lost their pensions. Russia has a cruel capitalistic economy. What went wrong?

Part of the answer can be found in George Orwell's writings, especially *Homage to Catalonia*. In late 1936 and early 1937, in Red Barcelona, Orwell was enchanted by a society where "the working class was in the saddle," the factories were taken over by workers, and militia members and peasants on the Aragon front lived on the basis of equality. But the only meaningful quantity of arms that the Spanish Loyalists had was from Soviet Russia. And in stages, the revolutionary nature of Spanish Loyalist society was curtailed, because of the Communist demands to postpone the revolution. Finally, in June

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Big" Bill Haywood, and

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convention.



of 1937, the POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) was suppressed and its members were executed and jailed. Orwell, who was in the POUM militia, and his wife had to flee Spain. What happened to POUM members was part of the purge campaign that was also happening in Russia. Great revolutionaries gave false confessions to collaborating with the Nazis. In 1961, the Soviet Union's Communist Party Chairman Nikita Khrushchev publicly acknowledged that these were false confessions.

Pierre van Paassen was also spellbound by Loyalist Spain. He had interviewed Anarcho-Syndicalist leader and Loyalist general Buenaventura Durruti, whom he was especially impressed with, as he was with the resistance to the July 1936 attempted fascist coup. Two elements about the Spanish Civil War that van Paassen covered that were missing from Orwell's experience are that the Catholic Basques were integral to the defense of Loyalist Spain: Priests in the Basque had for years been organizing labor unions, and Basque Catholics fought heroically for the Loyalists; and the Calvinist movement in Spain was active during the years of the

Republic, 1931–1939, when freedom of religion was finally restored, after centuries of inquisitional rule. Van Paassen pointed out that many people in the heavily atheist province of Catalonia started to send their children to the Calvinist schools. This new Spanish Calvinist movement was noted in the U.S. magazine *Presbyterian Times*. Van Paassen reported that as Franco's fascist forces gained ground, many Protestants were executed. That is why van Paassen's chapter on Spain is titled "L'Infame"—translated as "The Betrayal." Christians killing Christians was a betrayal.

Van Paassen, in this autobiography, whose title *Days of Our Years* (published in 1939) was taken from Psalm 90 and elsewhere, wrote about the African slave trade, current during the 1930s; Mussolini's brutal war against Ethiopia and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's heroism in resisting this outrage; the physical beating of Leon Blum, France's Popular Front Prime Minister, by Fascists; and Hitler's threat to the very existence of Europe's

Jews. Van Paassen felt this threat, because in an early interview, he had looked into Hitler's eyes, when the "evil one" was ranting against the Jews. He remembered the Russian pogroms, all the Jewish refugees in Holland from these pogroms during his youth, and the prayers of Holland's *Kleine luyden* (little people), "Calvinist shopkeepers and farmers," on behalf of the dispersed and persecuted Jews, and praying for their restoration to the Holy Land. Van Paassen wrote about the coming Second World War. He firmly believed that Britain's policy of appeasing Hitler, under Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain was done in the hope that Nazi Germany would attack the Soviet Union.

All three authors believed in worldwide labor solidarity as a means to build a better world.

<sup>1</sup> Solomon, Raymond S. "John Reed's First Labor Love: The IWW." *Industrial Worker*, September 2014

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Van Paassen, Pierre. (1939) *Days of Our Years*. New York: Hillman-Curl, Inc. **IW**

# The political culture of the IWW during its first 20 years

By Jaime Caro-Morente, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The union Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), launched in 1905, is a *rara avis* within the American labor movement. Although the American labor movement was very strong, its trade unions were the most conservative among the international labor movement. However, the IWW was an American union that was “radical”—working to solve problems by getting to the bottom of them. If we get an understanding of why the IWW was born and its political culture, we will be able to understand the transformation within the American society in the last years of the 19th century.

Some historians have set two different phases for the evolution of the American labor movement. In the first phase, that covers most of the 19th century, the labor movement was led by immigrant workers. During the second phase, the labor movement was led by the home-grown American workers. These phases can be extrapolated to the political field: We have the Socialist Labor Party whose leader was an immigrant, Daniel de Leon, in the first phase; while in the second phase we have the Socialist Party of America of the well-known Eugene V. Debs.

The Industrial Workers of the World has a “preferred seat” in the pantheon of the radical unions of the United States due to their early success and the repression they suffered on hands of the State and the

private armies (like Pinkerton Agency) that nearly destroyed them. In my opinion, the most important thing in this union is their unique political culture, which gave them their success and made their existence possible in its actual context without deep changes.

Historians have been unclear on how to

union have strong links with a socialist party in a socialist strike, such as the 1912 Lawrence strike? Why were they part of the Second International debating with Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg? How is possible that an anarchist union decided to join the Communist International for two years?

There were two historians who re-opened the debate about the political culture of the IWW: Melvyn Dubofsky and Paul Buhle. In their studies, both historians reached the conclusion that the current theoretical framework was useless, and a new one was needed. Buhle was the historian who managed to study the IWW with an open mind to create a new framework: The IWWs were socialists; they read Marx but they did not agree on everything with him. They used anarcho-sindicalist tactics; they did not want to conquer the State; and, the most importantly of all, they were American born within an American history with their own experiences in the labor movement.

I would like to begin the analysis of their political culture, an “American socialist,” with the picture of the labor leader “Big” Bill Haywood proclaiming on the 27th June of 1905: *Fellow Workers! This is the Continental Congress of the working class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism.* In this proclamation, our



classify IWW's ideology, as either socialist or anarchist, because they have in their rank and file leaders of both labor political cultures, which have always been assumed to be enemies. From the first historian who researched them, Paul Brissenden, up until the 1970s, a *status quo* was set in the studies about them: They were socialist in their first years, and when the schism within the Socialist Labor Party occurred and the political clause took effect, anarchists. This is a simple assumption that requires us to make a deeper study of their political culture and otherwise makes their history unintelligible to us: Why does an anarchist

main hypothesis is condensed: that the IWW's ideology comes from the United States Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and that the socialist political culture of the IWW is a labor reformulation of the previous one, with the help of the Marxism.

Jefferson and Madison created the ideological corpus of the new republic influenced by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes and his book *Leviathan*. When the war for independence was won by the rebels, Jefferson and Madison started focusing on individual liberties, thinking that the new State created was going to be a major threat to them. If they did not protect individual liberties, the State could take them away from their citizens and enslave them. We all know the Jeffersonian dream of the agrarian republic in which every citizen has their own land to ensure their economic independence. We also know Madison's main ideas through the *Federalist Papers*, where he links the idea of democracy with the Jeffersonian dream: If the people do not have their own land and property, the democracy is impossible. In other words, liberty and democracy are only assured if the people have economic independence and are the owners of the means of production. Madison went further than this, stating that people cannot wield democracy and liberty if they do not have economic independence, so, anyone who wants to live in a democracy must have property.

The tremendous industrialization in the United States towards the end of the 19th century, was a shock for the population: The "new progress" and modernity were condemning a major part of the people to inequity and misery. Some people developed new ideologies in an attempt to respond to and remedy this misery, but these ideologies were brought in by immigrants—such as Marxism or anarchism. The American people still believed in the dreams promised by the new young Republic. The first American union that sought to resolve the misery within American society was the Knights of Labor, but that ended in failure following the Great Southwest railroad strike of 1886. However, in 1905, the IWW was launched being able to articulate a new discourse within the American political culture and bring hope to the people.

In 1905, many leaders of the American labor movement met in Chicago. This meeting's aim was to find an ultimate solution to the industrial conflict and the class struggle. The final proposition was clear: The workers had to seize the means of production, to be owners like in Jeffer-

son's dream—where this was only in this way can democracy exist, but based on the ideas of Madison, the new concept of the Industrial Democracy. This was their main idea, but they needed further political ideas to articulate a cogent discourse, so they brought in ideas from early Marxism and the Anarchists.

The Founding Convention of 1905 has often been studied by historians as if there were a tacit agreement in between the three "souls" within the IWW: the Syndicalists, the Marxists, and the Debs socialists. However, there was no such agreement: There was a reformulation among the three ideologies to create a new political culture accessible to all of them instead, with the presence of anarchists like Lucy Parsons, Carlo Tresca, and Emma Goldman. This process of political reformulation was led by the syndicalists, Father Thomas Hagerty, "Big" Bill Haywood, and William Trautmann.

The IWW built itself based on "aims": A large number of ideologies were represented at the convention, and some of them in direct opposition. Therefore, the most logical way to build itself was to set two types of aims: short term and long term. The IWW was created with pragmatism, yet it set some lofty aims that went further than any of the ideologies that influenced its creation. A new hegemony within the labor movement had been formed, and it belonged to the IWW.

Once the common postures about the aims were established, they were defined: In the short term, improvement of the conditions of life for all workers. In the long-path, the abolishment of the capitalist system, and the establishment of worker-controlled industry in one big union, the IWW.

The first aim was to protect and improve the conditions of life of all workers. The second in recognition of socialists, Marxists, and anarchists: to abolish capitalism. And the third was in recognition of syndicalism: Through the IWW, the workers would control the means of production and distribution in the new system. Once the wage system was abolished, workers would realize the Jeffersonian dream. Despite the fact that for both Marxism and anarchism, the workers must seize the means of production when capitalism is abolished, the syndicalists wanted to seize the factories as collective property reflecting their American socialist political culture.

The IWW has dedicated the major part of its existence to their first aim, organizing strikes and protesting in the "freedom of speech phase," but they did not leave their

second aim behind, and tried to educate their members. We must not forget the significant educational and propagandistic machinery of the IWW in its first years.

The confluence of different political cultures and ideologies was what provided them with strength and success until the Third International. It was an American union, but it was radical in trying to link Marxism and anarchism. The label "One Big Union" was a reality, not a dream. The IWW accomplished being one of the biggest unions in the United States and the most powerful, including the American Federation of Labor.

I would highlight three milestones and successes of the IWW within the global history of the labor movement. First the representatives of the IWW, Socialist Party of America, and Socialist Labor Party passed a resolution at the Second International in Stuttgart (1907). In this Congress the IWW debated as equals—within Marxian theory—about the labor movement nature and the relationship between its two "agents": the Union and the Party. The "big leaders" in Marxism—the European Marxists, including Lenin, Kautsky, and Luxemburg—thought that the Party was always more important than the union, and the Party, as proletarian vanguard, must lead the labor movement as well as the unions. IWW passed a resolution on the equality between the two agents: Party and union had equal importance within the labor movement.

The second milestone was the internal debate within the IWW regarding their participation in the Third International. This debate was divisive, but ultimately, because of the Soviet position, the IWW decided not to join the Third International, to stay true to their political culture: Seize the means of production without the need to conquer the State.

This second milestone links with the third: By staying within their ideology, they had remained alive up to that point, so they could take advantage of the particular state of affairs in capitalism at that time.

Today it is a reality that American Capitalism and its values, the American "way of life," have become dominant in the world. However, a union that stems from socialist and anarcho-syndicalist values and is as international as the IWW can take advantage of this conjuncture in order to expand their own revolution and unionism. We must not forget that philosophers such as Noam Chomsky, a Wobbly, have drawn from the IWW's key concept of Industrial Democracy the basis to frame the debate of "democracy against Capitalism." **IW**

## Dem. N.C. governor signs anti-farmworker union bill, opening door to more attacks

By Mike Elk, *Payday Report*, 7/13/17

Earlier today, North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper, a Democrat, signed the state's Farm Act, which prohibits farmworkers' unions from collecting union dues directly from workers' paychecks.

Labor activists say that the provision in the bill, SB 615, was aimed at the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which represents 10,000 farmworkers in North Carolina. Earlier this year, FLOC was able to force a major settlement from North Carolina State Brent Jackson.

"This attack on farm workers' rights is most likely in retaliation for a series of lawsuits brought by farm workers and their union (Farm Labor Organizing Committee) over wage theft and mistreatment on several farms in Eastern NC — including one owned by Sen. Brent Jackson, who sponsored this bill and chaired the Senate conference committee" said North Carolina AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer MaryBe McMillian. "It is a clear conflict of interest and blatant abuse of power for legislators who are also growers to push policies that allow them to gain more and more profit on the backs of their workers."

Organized labor had hoped that Democratic Governor Roy Cooper would veto the bill, meeting with him twice to lobby against it. Yesterday, however, they received word that the Governor intended to sign it.

"We got a call from his office yesterday evening and were told that it was the fact that they don't have the votes to stop an override, and that the Democrats in the North Carolina General Assembly were not all on the same page [on the bill]," says FLOC Vice President Justin Flores. "However, both of those were not necessarily true, so we really don't know the true motivation. This is an embarrassing show for a Democratic governor and the reason Democrats keep losing."

Republicans hold supermajorities in both the state House and Senate, enabling them to overturn Cooper's veto as long as the caucus sticks together. In 2016, a three-judge panel on the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina found that twenty-eight of the state's 170 legislative districts that were drawn in 2011 when the Republicans took

power were "racial gerrymanders in violation of the Equal Protection Clause," and ordered the maps be redrawn and special elections called in 2017.

Last month, the Supreme Court agreed that the districts were racially gerrymandered, but vacated the order for new special elections, meaning that North Carolina voters will very likely have to wait until at least 2018 to vote for legislators whose seats haven't been ruled to be in direct violation of the Constitution.

Considering the legislature's very public hatred for him, however, Cooper could have vetoed the bill as a protest against the anti-union provisions of the bill. He did not. And after Cooper signed the bill, the outrage from organized labor in the state was near unanimous.

"We are deeply disappointed that Gov. Cooper plans to sign the Farm Bill (SB615)," said N.C. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer MaryBe McMillian. "This legislation singles out farm workers and undermines their freedom of association and ability to collectively negotiate for better wages and working conditions."

Labor groups in the state, including FLOC, the North Carolina AFL-CIO, and UE Local 150 plan to hold a rally at the Governor's office next Tuesday to protest the Governor's decision, as many fear that the governor's failure to veto the bill will lead to even more attacks against unions by the legislature.

"It's a warning sign for people in our movement that we need to remain vigilant," says North Carolina Public Service Workers Union UE Local 150 organizer Dante Strobino.

Another anti-labor bill, SB 375, would eliminate dues check off for public employees; that bill passed the Senate in April. Strobino fears that Cooper signing SB 615 opens the door to even more attacks on unions in a state that already has one of



Photo credit: Facts Figures and the Future

the lowest membership rates in the country.

"They always try to attack the most vulnerable first. They try to attack Muslims, they try to attack Latinos, they try to isolate them. However, the general population isn't isolated," says Strobino. "They start these attacks to create wedges. They are trying to start an avalanche to attack all workers and eliminate payroll deduction for public employees."

FLOC also vows to challenge the measure in court. They say that the measure violates their right to assembly and the constitutional rights of farmworkers by eliminated dues check off just for farmworkers and not other organizations such as charities like the United Way and other unions.

"This type of abandonment of immigrant workers is nothing new from the Democratic or Republican parties. We've been excluded from every labor law reform since the racist-exclusion of farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act in 1935," says FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez. "We plan to challenge this bill in the courts, as a violation of farmworkers rights to freedom of assembly and speech and continue our fight for better wages for immigrant families in the state."

Mike Elk is a member of the Washington-Baltimore NewsGuild and is the senior labor reporter at *Payday Report*.

*Payday Report* is a community supported labor-reporting project. We depend on our readers to be able to tell the stories of workers in the South. To donate, go to <http://paydayreport.com/support-our-work/>. **IW**

## Pay equity: Back-to-back wins for women athletes

By Muffy Sunde  
*Freedom Socialist newspaper*, Vol. 38,  
 No. 3, June-July 2017  
[www.socialism.com](http://www.socialism.com)

Ice hockey's U.S. Women's National Team (USWNT) beat their governing body, USA Hockey, in March and took women's fight for living wages a huge step forward. Long notoriously underpaid, hockey's women players were expected to keep winning world medals while working for about \$1,000 per month, for six months, only in Olympic years, and on less than half the food allowance of male players.

The team definitely earned the right to a raise. It holds six world championship trophies and silver in successive Olympics. Their demands were minimal by sports standards: decent pay, benefits, investment in youth programs and an end to practices like being forced to fly coach while the men's team flies business class. Bosses stonewalled until the women announced a boycott of the upcoming world championship. Management then tried to recruit scabs. The response from other professional players, high schoolers as young as 16, and tavern teams was to tell USA Hockey to get lost.

### Solidarity wins a round

On the eve of the world championships, unions representing players for the National Football League, the National Basketball Association, the Women's National Basketball Association, and Major League Baseball, all announced support for the USWNT. When men's team players started saying they would also refuse to play in the world championships, management folded. While USWNT didn't win pay equity with male players, their victory is impressive. They went from an every four years pittance to a guaranteed \$70,000 per year, chances for bonuses, equal meal money, travel accommodations

and insurance with male players, a commitment to develop young players and greater promotion of the women's game.

### Winning is contagious

One week after the victory in hockey, the U.S. women's soccer team won a new contract with USA Soccer. The settlement followed a rancorous year-long battle in which the union filed sex discrimination charges against management with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and USA Soccer bosses sued the union for demanding a new contract.

The agreement provides wages of up to \$300,000, parental leave, and player input on longstanding grievances regarding working conditions, travel, and accommodations.

### Far from over

Female athletes have fought sex and race discrimination for decades—for the right to compete at all, for the right to get paid, and for the right to equal pay. Women's pay has always been a fraction of that paid to male athletes, regardless of how much revenue the sport makes. Lower pay for women means higher profits for team owners.

The modern women's movement won the 1972 Title IX amendment to the Higher Education Act that banned discrimination in any school receiving federal assistance. Women's college sports grew swiftly, growth that led to more professional women's sports and to the

fight for equal wages in the modern era. Billie Jean King threatened to boycott the 1973 U.S. Open Tennis Tournament, forcing equal pay from an unwilling management. It took until 2007 and Venus Williams' demand for equal pay to force the Wimbledon tournament to equalize the purse. Now, although tennis is the most lucrative sport for women, outside of the four major tournaments, women's purses average 80 percent of that paid to men.



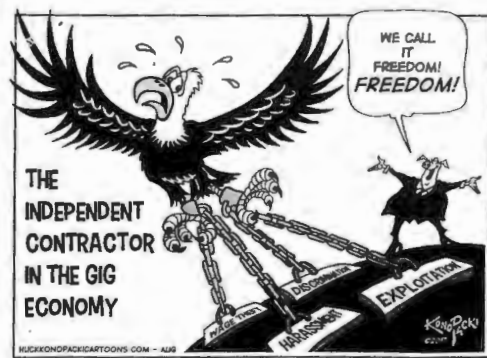
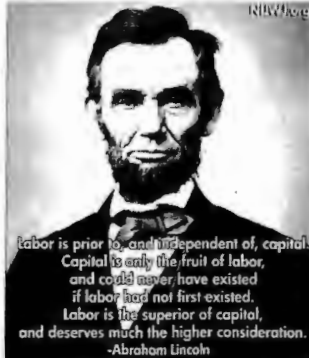
Athlete and tennis great Billie Jean King

Photo credit: Variety.com

The victories in hockey and soccer show that solidarity can win, and that the public and other athletes will support those who stand and fight. Players in the Women's National Basketball Association, whose league has a *maximum* pay that is lower than the *minimum* pay of its male counterparts, are way overdue for a raise.

If women athletes can take on management and win, with a union-busting misogynist in the White House, all of organized labor should take note and use the same game plan.

Send feedback to [muffy\\_sunde@yahoo.com](mailto:muffy_sunde@yahoo.com) **IW**





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I agree to study the IWW's principles and make myself acquainted with its purpose:\* ☐ Yes

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### Preamble to the IWW Constitution

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

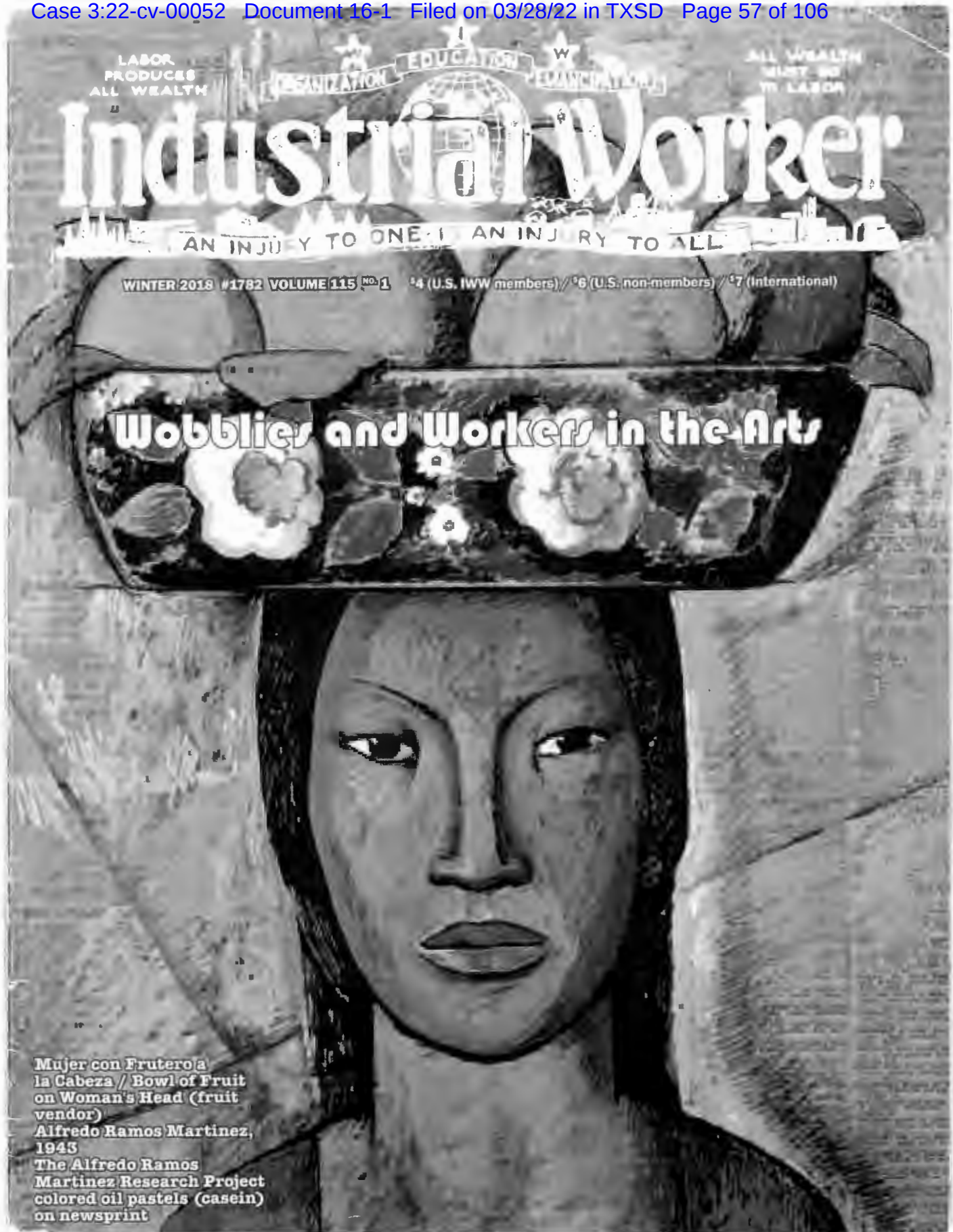
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs that allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



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Washington  
Seattle GMB: 1122 E. Pike #1142, Seattle, WA 98122-3934; 206-429-5285, seattleiww@gmail.com; Contact for: Central Co-op

## Europe

European Regional Administration (ERA): P.O. Box 7593, Glasgow, G4 2EX; 0800 998 9149, www.iww.org.uk

## Belgium

Belgium IWW: belgium@iww.org

## German Language Area

IWW German Language Area Regional Organizing Committee (GLAMROC): www.wobolies.org, glamroc@wobolies.org

Austria (Vienna): http://www.iww.or.at/; www.facebook.com/pages/IWW-Wien/381153168710911, iwwaustria@gmail.com, wien@iww.or.at

Berlin: Offenes Treffen jeden 2. Montag im Monat im Cafe Commune, Reichenberger Str. 157, 10999 Berlin, 18 Uhr, (U-Bahn) Kottbusser Tor; Postadresse: IWW Berlin, c/o Rotes Antiquariat, Rungestr. 20, 10179 Berlin, Germany; berlin@wobolies.org

Bochum/Ruhrgebiet: bochum@wobolies.org

Bremen: www.iww-bremen.org, kontakt@iww-bremen.org

Cologne/Köln IWW: c/o Allerweltschhaus, Koernerstr. 77-79, 50823 Köln, Germany; www.iwwcologne.wordpress.com, cologne@wobolies.org

Frankfurt a.M. GMB: http://Frankfurt.Wobolies.org, Frankfurt@wobolies.org

Hamburg-Waterkant: hamburg@wobolies.org

Jura-Alpen-Mittelland: jam@wobolies.org

Kassel: IWW, Naumburger Str. 20a, 34127 Kassel; www.wobolies-kassel.de, kontakt@wobolies-kassel.de

Leipzig: leipzig@wobolies.org

Munich: www.muenchen@gmx.de

Rostock: www.rostock.blogspot.eu, rostock@wobolies.org

Switzerland: wobby@gmx.net

## Greece

Greece IWW: iwwgreece@yahoo.gr

Iceland: Heilmassamband Verkalafólks/ IWW Iceland, Reykjavík/urakademilunni 516, Hringbraut 121, 107 Reykjavík

Lithuania: lithuania.iww@gmail.com

Netherlands: iww.ned@gmail.com

Norway IWW: 004793656014; http://www.iwwnorge.org, www.iwwnorge.org, www.iwwnorge.org, www.iwwnorge.org, post@iwwnorge.org

## WISERA Organisation Contacts

Access Facilitator: access@iww.org.uk

Central England Organiser: central@iww.org.uk

Communications Department, communications@iww.org.uk

Cymru/Wales Organiser: Trefnydd Cymru, cymru.organiser@iww.org.uk

East of Scotland Organiser: eastscotland@iww.org.uk

Legal Officer: Legal@iww.org.uk

Membership Administrator: membership@iww.org.uk

Merchandise Committee: merchandise@iww.org.uk

Northern Regional Organiser: north@iww.org.uk

Organising Department: organising@iww.org.uk

Research and Survey Department: research@iww.org.uk

Secretary: secretary@iww.org.uk

Southern England Organiser: south@iww.org.uk

Tech Committee: tech@iww.org.uk

Training Department: training@iww.org.uk

Treasurer: treasurer@iww.org.uk

West of Scotland Organiser: westscotland@iww.org.uk

Women's Officer: women@iww.org.uk

## WISERA Branches

Cydeside GMB: cydeside@iww.org.uk

Cydeside GMB: cydeside@iww.org.uk

Cydeside GMB: cydeside@iww.org.uk

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Cymru/Wales GMB: caerdydd@iww.org.uk

Dorset: dorset@iww.org.uk

Edinburgh GMB: edinburgh@iww.org.uk

Tyne & Wear GMB: tynewear@iww.org.uk

Bradford GMB: bradford@iww.org.uk

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Liverpool: Liverpool@iww.org.uk

Manchester GMB: manchester@iww.org.uk

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Sheffield GMB: IWW Office 2, SYAC, 120 Wicker, Sheffield S3 8JD (0114 223 2100); sheffield@iww.org.uk

Norwich Bar and Hospitality Workers IUB 640: norwich-bhgw@iww.org.uk

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Bristol GMB: bristol@iww.org.uk

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## North America

## Canada

IWW Canadian Regional Organizing Committee (CANROC): c/o Toronto GMB, P.O. Box 45 Toronto P, Toronto ON, M5S 2S6; iww@iww.ca

## Alberta

Edmonton GMB: P.O. Box 4197, T6E 4T2; edmonton.iww.ca, edmontongmb@iww.org

## British Columbia

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## New Brunswick

Fredericton: frederictoniww.wordpress.com

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Ottawa Panhandlers Union: Delegate: raymond747@hotmail.com

Peterborough: c/o PCAP, 393 Water St. #17, K9H 3L7; 705-749-9694, Delegate: 705-775-0663, seancarleton@iww.org

Toronto GMB: P.O. Box 45, Toronto P, M5S 2S6; 647-741-4998, www.torontoiww.org, toronto@iww.org

Windsor GMB: c/o WWAC, 328 Pelissier St., N9A 4K7; 519-564-8036, http://windsoriww.wordpress.com, windsor@iww@gmail.com

## Québec

Montreal GMB: c/o 60124, Montréal, QC, H2J 4E1; 514-268-3394, iww\_quebec@riseup.net

## United States

## Alabama

Birmingham: lolas\_powerpop@gmail.com

Huntsville: huntsvilleiww@gmail.com

Mobile: Delegate: P.O. Box 160073, 36616; tr@riseup.net

Tuscaloosa: Delegate: 205-245-4622, gerald@iww@gmail.com

## Alaska

Fairbanks GMB: P.O. Box 80101, 99708; Delegate: 907-457-2543, Facebook: IWW Fairbanks, iwwfb@iww.org

## Arizona

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

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Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

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Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Flagstaff: phoenix@iww.org

Hermosillo: hermosillo@iww.org

Nogales: nogales@iww.org

Tucson: 408-314-8574, voyager640@gmail.com

## Arkansas

Northwest Arkansas IWW: P.O. Box 4062, Fayetteville, 72702-4062; iww.nwa@gmail.com

## California

Los Angeles GMB: P.O. Box 74344, 90004; 323-374-3499, losangeles@iww.org

Sacramento IWW: 916-672-8881, sacramento@iww.org

IWW San Diego GMB: Contact for San Diego Public Service Workers I.U. 650, P.O. Box 882226, San Diego, 92168-2226; 619-630-5537, sandiego@iww.org

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San Jose: www.facebook.com/SJSIW, IWW, SouthBayIWW@gmail.com

## Colorado

Denver GMB: IWW, P.O. Box 12451, Denver, 80212; 814-758-7761, denvergmb@iww.org

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Connecticut: Delegate: 914-258-0941, JohnW713@yahoo.com

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## Florida

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Hobe Sound: Delegate, 8274 SE Pine Circle, 33455-6608; 772-545-9591, okiedog2002@yahoo.com

Orlando: Delegate: 788-424-8758, Facebook: OrlandoIWW, orlandoiww@gmail.com

South Florida GMB: P.O. Box 370452, 33137; 202-630-9620, http://iwwmiami.wordpress.com, Facebook: Miami IWW, miami@iww.org

St Augustine: staugustineiww@gmail.com

Tallahassee: www.facebook.com/iwwtallahassee

Tampa: iwwtampa@gmail.com

## Georgia

Atlanta GMB: P.O. Box 5390, 31107; 678-964-5169, contact@atlfiww.org

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## Illinois

Chicago: Delegate: 470-326-6531, chicagoiww.org

Central Illinois: davidjohnson1451@comcast.net

## Indiana

Michiana GMB: Delegate: 574-245-0605, iwwmichiana@gmail.com

## Iowa

Eastern Iowa IWW: 319-333-2476, EasternIowaIWW@gmail.com

## Kansas

Kansas City: 816-875-6060

Wichita: Delegate: 316-633-0591, wichita@iww.org

## Kentucky

Kentucky GMB: Secretary-Treasurer: 502-658-0299, papamick.iww@gmail.com

## Louisiana

Louisiana IWW: Delegate: wogodm@yahoo.com; https://www.facebook.com/groups/iwwoflouisiana/

## Maine

Maine IWW: 207-619-0842, www.southernmaine.iww.org, maine@

Maine IWW: 207-619-0842, www.southernmaine.iww.org, maine@

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## Maryland

Baltimore GMB: P.O. Box 33350, 21218; baltimoreiww@gmail.com

## Massachusetts

Boston Area GMB: P.O. Box 391724, Cambridge, 02139; 617-863-7920, www.IWWBoston.org, iww.boston@riseup.net

Holyoke: brooksball@rcn.com

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Blanche decides not to have plastic surgery on her breasts, but to use that money so Sophia can go to a better nursing home than Cement. But the Golden Girls lament at people who live in nursing homes they workers

**4-5**



**TV**  
•Tel  
•Ro  
•Wo

Dorothy works as a substitute teacher. At one point, she becomes sick and doctors diagnose her illness. So they give her a psychiatric label. In real life women are much more likely to get a psychiatric diagnosis than are men. Doctors can't figure out what illness they have. Eventually, a virologist explains that Dorothy has chronic fatigue syndrome.

issues

**6-11**



### Workers and their art

- The inspiration of art and the IWW
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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
Post Office Box 180195  
Chicago, IL 60618 USA  
(773) 728-0996 • ghq@iww.org  
www.iww.org

IWW GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER  
Travis Erickson

IWW GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD  
Cole Dorsey, Amanie El-Hajj, Anthony Kaled,  
Tai Maag, Jesse Onland, Brianna Peril, and  
David Tucker

INDUSTRIAL WORKER EDITOR & DESIGNER  
Roberta McNair  
iw@iww.org

GRAPHICS ASSISTANCE  
Chris Erlich

PROOFREADER  
Kathryn Baughman

PRINTER  
Sommers and Fahrenbach, Inc.  
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# MWA-IWW/IWOC statement

## Revolutionary greetings, fellow workers:

On behalf of "Mandingo Warriors & Associates—IWW/IWOC," we would like to express our most sincere gratitude and appreciation regarding the valuable time, efforts, and sacrifices that you, along with the entire IWW/IWOC revolutionary family of this struggle, have put into this difficult and complex "dilemma" of pursuing the necessary steps required to "effectively" assist in the organizing of those of us who are incarcerated within the numerous "business corporations" disguised as "reformatory institutions" (a.k.a. prisons), around unifying principles and a universal philosophy that is inclusive of all of humanity (this is definitely a struggle rooted in equality for all of humanity and not just the few and wealthy!).

We shall hope and pray that all of our comrades in the "semi-free society" are doing well and are enjoying the best of health possible. Your most recent communication (dated: 10/20/17) was well received, and we look forward to receiving future communications from any and all IWW/IWOC members (with a robust invitation to the African People's Caucus) in the near future.

Before we/I begin to address your most recent letter, comrade, it is our responsibility to inform and make you guys aware of the latest developments concerning the movement of our Branch. You guys will have no doubt noticed the change in name/title to "Mandingo Warriors & Associates—IWW/IWOC" (MWA-IWW/IWOC) from the previous name.

A meeting was held on 10/27/17 in response to your letter and concerning IWW/IWOC's agenda in general. Among the few issues that were discussed and resolved was included the uncertainty of some as to whether IWW/IWOC represents the realities of true revolutionary movement, or will the Tribe (another name used to describe the entirety of the MW organization) as a revolutionary organization in and of itself be bound by mutual agreement to honor, respect, uphold, and abide by the Constitution, By-Laws, Principles, and General Philosophy (whenever related to IWW affairs) of a bunch of "armchair" revolutionaries, who pontificate upon

revolutionary concepts but fall far short of actual revolutionary movement. (The Tribe has been "burned" by such "revolutionary organizations" before, wherein "they talk a good game," but

Leeds GMB: IWW, Ebor Court, Cooper Gate, Leeds; leeds@iww.org.uk  
Liverpool: Liverpool@iww.org.uk  
Manchester GMB: manchester@iww.org.uk

Milton Keynes-Northampton: robsen@riseup.net

Sheffield GMB: IWW Office 2, SYAC, 120 Wicker, Sheffield S3 8JD (0114 223 2100); sheffield@iww.org.uk

Norwich Bar and Hospitality Workers IUB 640: norwich-bhu@iww.org.uk

Nottingham GMB: notts@iww.org.uk

West Midlands GMB: IWW, Bike Foundry, 1539 Pershore Rd, Birmingham B30 2JH (0121 459 7276); westmids@iww.org.uk

Bristol GMB: bristol@iww.org.uk

Reading GMB: reading@iww.org.uk

London GMB: london@iww.org.uk

**North America**  
Canada  
IWW Canadian Regional Organizing Committee (CANROC): c/o Toronto GMB, P.O. Box 45 Toronto P, Toronto ON, M5S 2S6; iww@iww.ca

## California

Los Angeles GMB: P.O. Box 74344, 90004; 323-374-3499, losangeles@iww.org

Sacramento IWW: 916-672-8881, sacramento@iww.org

IWW San Diego GMB: Contact for San Diego Public Service Workers I.U. 650, P.O. Box 882226, San Diego, 92168-2226; 619-630-5537, sandiego@iww.org

San Francisco Bay Area GMB: P.O. Box 11412, Berkeley, 94712; 510-845-0540, bayarea@iww.org

San Jose: www.facebook.com/515V, IWW, SouthBayIWW@gmail.com

**Colorado**

Denver GMB: IWW, P.O. Box 12451, Denver, 80212; 814-758-7761, denvergmb@iww.org

## Connecticut

Connecticut: Delegate: 914-258-0941, JohnW7813@yahoo.com

## DC

Washington DC GMB: P.O. Box 1303, 20013; 202-630-9620, www.dciww.org, www.facebook.com/dciww, dc.iww.org

when the "heat" is turned up they are nowhere to be found.)

However, after a few of our elder/senior Tribal members expounded upon the true significance of the "Statement on Prison Abolition Adopted by IWW at 2017 Convention," specifically its wide margin of success (51 in favor) and coupled with the consistent efforts by you guys, our comrades within IWW/IWOC, in organizing campaigns in support of prisoners and assisting with the actual organizing of prisoners themselves, the statement declared by IWW is profound and proclaims revolutionary movement far more reaching than we would have expected—at least from "armchair" revolutionaries. ☺

Our initial agreement, regarding the partnering with IWW/IWOC, consisted of a project that was narrowly tailored and confined to a specific single prison, in order to evaluate how successful the project

would be in becoming an IWW branch, with the prospect of seeking membership for the entirety of the Tribe and promote IWW/IWOC's agenda throughout the state prison system (the Tribe has a community/village present at practically every prison in the state).

Before the closing of our meeting, it was determined, declared, and resolved that IWW/IWOC is "the real thing!" We moved to include the Tribe as a whole to the membership base of IWW/IWOC and promote its/our agenda throughout the state prison system. Therefore, because of this resolution, a motion was presented to change the name of our IWW/IWOC Branch to MWA-IWW/IWOC (although MWs account for the majority and significant portion of our IWW/IWOC membership base at the IWW Branch, we're not all MW. Hence, "A" for "Associates": some are Moors, of the Moorish Science Temple of America, and of course there will be others who will join with no organizational affiliation). The motion passed unanimously. We are aware that the GEB reserves the right to "regulate the name of the body." However, we request that due consideration be given and at the least, the initials "MWA-IWW/IWOC" be accepted as an official name. We must continue to honor those fallen comrades who gave their life in order that the revolutionary movement continues with the Tribe moving forward. **IW**





All in the Family

race, in contrast to Michael who is nice to Lionel, but first sees and treats Lionel as a member of his race. One time, Edith explains to Michael why Archie yells at him, and why he, Michael, yells at Archie. Archie yells at Michael, Edith

says, because he will never have the opportunities that Michael has; and Michael yells at Archie, Edith says, because he knows he will never be able to repay Archie for what he has done for him. After all, Michael and Gloria are living in Archie's and Edith's house while Michael is finishing college.

#### **The Golden Girls and real-life crises**

Most sitcoms of the 1950s and 1960s presented an idyllic America through such programs as *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave it to Beaver*, *Father Knows Best*, *The Patty Duke Show*, and *The Dick van Dyke Show*. These shows took place in the suburbs, the husbands had good jobs, and the wives were stay-at-home moms. Paying bills did not seem to be a problem.

By the 1980s, the post-World War II prosperity was starting to crumble. This new situation that workers suffered is shown in *The Golden Girls*, which ran from 1985 to 1992. In many of its episodes, it clearly shows working-class issues, especially those of older people and of women. Sophia Petrillo was a poor Sicilian immigrant child. Sophia, like Blanche and Rose Nylund, is a widow. Sophia's daughter Dorothy had placed her in an ill-equipped nursing home, after Sophia's stroke, but she left the home after a fire. The only one of the four Golden Girls who is not from a working class background is Blanche Devereux, whose house they all share.

Along with many very funny episodes, working-class issues are also presented, especially those of women and older people. They all have ups and downs over the course of the series' seven years.

Rose loses her late husband's pension when the company goes bankrupt and has to find a job, then she loses a job and fears she may become homeless. Rose is deliberately overworked in a job she finds at a TV station—a job she almost didn't get because of her age. And Rose has to explain to her daughter that her estate is so small because her husband, though a great person, was not the super-successful insurance salesman she has led her children and grandchildren to believe but instead was a horseshoe salesman. And after Rose

undergoes heart bypass surgery, her daughter is concerned that insurance will not pay for Rose's physical therapy. Blanche tells her that that is why "houses have mortgages." Rose's daughter is surprised that Blanche "would do that," and changes her attitude towards her mother's housemates.

There is elder neglect at an underfunded nursing home, where one of Sophia's friends lives. Blanche decides not to have plastic surgery on her breasts, but to use that money so Sophia's friend can go to a better nursing home than Rose found for her. But the Golden Girls lament all the other people who live in nursing homes they can't help.

Dorothy works as a substitute teacher, but at one point, she becomes sick and doctors can't diagnose her illness. So they give her a psychiatric label. In real life women are much more likely to get a psychiatric diagnoses than are men when doctors can't figure out what illness they have. Eventually, a virologist explains that Dorothy has chronic fatigue syndrome.

Always just getting by, the women infiltrate a homeless shelter in the hope of recovering a coat with a winning lottery ticket in its pocket. In this shelter Sophia meets an old friend. She explains to Sophia that getting old is not free, as she thought. For example medicines are expensive. Sophia says that good people will not let these conditions continue. But they still continue. Another homeless resident tells Rose that people are not eager to hire an unemployed Black hotel porter who is over 55. A young white professor suffers from alcoholism. They find the ticket, but finally donate the ticket to the shelter and hand it to the priest who operates the shelter. The theme song for that episode was "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"



The Golden Girls

Blanche's house, for which the other women pay rent, has a bad roof that needs fixing but they can't afford a proper repair. Dorothy's uncle Angelo can't find a place to live that he can afford. One Christmas, the women volunteer to serve homeless people at a church, and Dorothy's ex-husband Stanley turns out to be one of the homeless. At one point Sophia praises the Chinese for venerating their old people, as distinct from our culture where old people are discarded. The Golden Girls make a covenant that they will take care of one another in case any one of them gets sick and/or poor. That's what many of us might want to do. **IW.**

## **A Spider's World**

By Duane Morrison

The spider can afford to wait

no mirage there it's simply dinner or lunch as time allows

but one could assume that there is little misunderstanding about roles in his game

only one will do the eating

the capturing is over the feast begins

and only the outsider can see that it is the structure of the spider's world that allows for the killing

# Rock that cradle

By Ellie Sawyer

It is 2018, and we are watching a century-old conflict play out, one that has been playing out in the developed world since the Bolsheviks overthrew the Cossacks, and imperialists realized a new fear: the labor movement. Long has the world's elite required the sheer manpower the working class has offered, and it has done its best to ensure we are divided enough to never realize the power we could potentially possess should we band together. Undermining education and turning it into a commodity, much like what Betsy DeVos seeks to do with her plan for private school vouchers and "school choice," taking away money from public schools, where so many low-income students received an already imperiled education (thank you, President Reagan, for your famous line, "the state should not subsidize intellectual curiosity" and stigmatizing critical thinking) has done part of the trick.

Fear mongering and stirring up suspicion of each other—encouraging divisive attitudes against people who are different—have also played a part in preventing unity amongst the workers of the world. People like Newt Gingrich have been caught on tape using this tactic, making statements like "the average American . . . does not think that crime is down, does not think they are safer" (Gingrich said this when he was corrected on his stance that crime was up

in 2016—it was down significantly that year, and his response reflected that he did not care, so long as his constituents felt fear). Donald Trump and his cronies play that tune now, using stereotypes to divide and strike fear within our heart with such rhetoric as "Haitians have AIDS" and "Mexicans are drug dealers, criminals, and rapists."

In the 1999 movie, *Cradle Will Rock*, set in the 1930s and based on actual people and events, we see this struggle between capitalist elitism and the labor movement. Though the movie itself centers on the playwright, Marc Blitzstein, who wrote the musical *The Cradle Will Rock*, the script broadens out to speak of a larger scope—the struggle of the WPA's Federal Theater Project (FTP). Its task was to make literature and theater more accessible to the common man and thereby educate through exposure to new thoughts and cultures, which are then normalized and become acceptable. We are exposed to the nuances of this struggle, the subtle ways the labor movement is sabotaged and undermined, and the revolt of the working class to reclaim their right to a seat at the table.

There are many instances in this film in which education becomes a topic of discussion, even if it is often brief. Aldo Silvano (based on the actor Howard Da Silva), an Italian-American actor in the FTP struggling to support his growing family, has taken his wife and children

with him from his parents' home to a rented room after coming to blows over his family's support of Benito Mussolini. His children ask him if they will lose their room, and they tell him of a child they knew whose employed father could not pay rent anymore. The child subsequently could not attend school anymore, a cause for concern for Silvano, who is himself uncertain about his children's future.

Olive Stanton, a homeless stagehand at the FTP, tells the theater's union leader, John Adair, that she knows very little of the world, when he tries to discuss politics and world news with her, saying that she has been too focused on being hungry to care about the state of the world or to find herself education. Even in the ritzy home of Gray Mathers, a steel mogul, his wife Countess Constance La Grange laments at how he does not tell her anything or speak of important matters to her, in which he brushes her off, saying that she would not understand. Despite her insistence that she would, he refuses throughout the movie to involve her in his important business deals. It is a feedback loop of sorts: One is easy to control when one is uneducated, and one is easy to keep uneducated when one is under someone else's control.

We see the inverse of this in the friction-filled relationship between Nelson Rockefeller and Diego Rivera: Rivera is incredibly intelligent, and as



Diego Rivera's "Man, Controller of the Universe," his revision of "Man at the Crossroads."



Moguls Hearst, Rockefeller, and Mathers in fancy dress at a society gala.

Rockefeller attempts to force Rivera to paint a mural in Rockefeller Center that is to the young socialite's liking. Rivera only revolts more, painting the likeness of the communist, Lenin, and syphilis cells directly above a depiction of a society gala. This, of course, infuriates the young Rockefeller, and while Rivera is still paid for his work—albeit forcefully and accompanied with an armed guard escorting him off the premises—the mural is immediately destroyed. Rockefeller will not risk being perceived as a supporter of social egalitarianism.

Hallie Flanagan, head of the Federal Theater Project, is also seen as a threat to the status quo and is punished for her worldviews. When the FTP faces congressional investigation and subsequent slashes in funding, Flanagan barrels full-steam ahead into her hearing with Congressman Martin Dies, confident that she will prevail. She is, instead, put under fire over her own theatrical education and for attempting to expose young children to the same sort of education. This leads to the other tactic. Though she is not called a Communist outright, Dies consistently directs the hearing to make frequent inferences about Flanagan's loyalties, based on a few months spent studying Russian theater, on plays that she has approved for FTP production that have unionist overtones, and on the egalitarian ideals that she spreads both orally and through the written word. He does so to play on fears of Communist and even anarchist infiltrations in the FTP—and largely succeeds in discrediting her and the FTP. Flanagan and her companions leave the hearing feeling largely defeated, despite that the ideals of the FTP will never truly be forgotten.

Once the FTP funds are slashed, and all current productions are frozen, the

production of *The Cradle Will Rock* is also stalled—a day before their opening. Unions for both the actors and musicians tell their members that if they perform

readily available for public consumption because of the FTP's ideals for social egalitarianism.

Despite the machinations of the capitalist elite, most of us now enjoy a minimum wage, forty-hour weeks, overtime pay, and many public utilities, such as municipal electricity, water, libraries, and in some more progressive areas of the country, Internet service—something that may catch on if the repeal of net neutrality holds. Oh, and

Rivera's "Man at the Crossroads" was ultimately recreated—albeit on a smaller scale—and renamed "Man, Controller of the Universe."

2017 was, undoubtedly, a hard year full



Hallie Flanagan and WPA and Federal Theater Project staff head to Congress for their hearing with Congressman Dies.

on a stage, they will be out of the job. Out of fear, all the actors and musicians tell each other that they will not perform, even after a new theater and piano are acquired for the non-union Blitzstein to perform alone. John Adair, an actor and the union steward for Orson Welles's theater, is especially set on doing exactly at the union dictates: While the actors and musicians are all decided on at least attending Blitzstein's performance, Adair leaves, telling Olive that if she wants a place to stay, she will leave as well, trying to control her through her own fears of destitution.

Ultimately, progress prevails, and in our contemporary settings, we must remember that. The actors and musicians still put on their play, using a technicality in their union contract barring them from using a stage. Countess La Grange finally sticks it to her husband, giving financial aid to Orson Welles and his production instead of acting as the dutiful and silent wife. Olive Stanton becomes able to feed and clothe herself, and be part of a meaningful and thought-provoking, pro-union play. The FTP set out to make theater more accessible to low-income citizens, and though it did not last more than a decade, through many different types of organizations, theater is more

of long struggles, and as we progress, we find that our adversaries—the CEOs, the Wall Street bigwigs, and the corporate fat cats—are more than capable of adapting to new rules and regulations to protect the common worker. The other mogul in the film, William Randolph Hearst, advises Gray Mathers in the face of political pressure to allow his steel company to unionize: "Killing strikers doesn't play to the public. You've got to find a way to give them a dollar—and take two!" They would not concede the battle to hoard as much money at the expense of as many people as they could. But there always beats the hard-earned drum of hope—we will always find a way to flourish and fight back against those with power. If watching *Cradle Will Rock* taught this writer anything, it is that hope is truly the thing with feathers, and as long as we have it, we will out-soar anything—even in our darkest hour.

Ellie Sawyer graduated from Montana State University in 2016, with a degree in Fish and Wildlife Ecology. She plans on getting a Master's degree in Wildlife Biology/Ecology and working as a research professor. In the meantime, she works at Home Depot, where she continues to learn about the ongoing struggle between workers and bosses. **IW**

# Workers' films

By Sean Morrison

The Great Depression and the years that led up to it were fertile ground for films about workers that understood the meaning of "work." Many writers, directors, and actors weren't far from their own experience of a working class, many of them immigrants or first-generation Americans, as well as from families that were marginalized. So it's not surprising that many movies in the first few decades of cinema were reflections of a director's (or producer's or actor's) working-class birth. But the studio system that sprung up in the mid-1920s started to change that. The movies, becoming big business, moved from the tiny nickelodeons of the 1910s to huge movie palaces through the silent era. A cartoon of the time depicted the lavish decoration of these palaces with a film onscreen of a man roasting a sausage over a campfire. The two seemingly divergent styles—realism and fantasy—heralded two of the most horrific decades for working people in the US: the growing economic disparity between workers and management of the '20s to the complete economic disruption of the '30s. The dialectics of socialism permeated everything from comedies and musicals to drama and action films.

Did that die on the vine as the transnational world stage became dominated by huge conglomerates and took over theaters, then television, and now the Internet? It didn't die, but it has morphed as the decades have rolled on. It also was reinterpreted far from Hollywood in the American independent cinema and in every country of the world, despite those countries' political leadership. Five neglected films that got it right—King Vidor's *The Crowd*, Jules Dassin's *Thieves' Highway*, Akira Kurosawa's *Stray Dog*, Charles Burnett's *Killer of Sheep*, and Paul Schrader's *Blue Collar*—are excellent examples of the fire being kept lit in the most unusual places.

King Vidor's 1928 silent film *The Crowd* reads like a multigenerational epic, but it's told in a modest way about a modest family, the Simses. John Sims loses his mother at an early age, but his idealism stands him in good stead and eventually draws him to the big city, determined to make a good living with

his art and imagination. What he lands is a boring job in a huge room with small desks and piles of "in" and "out" boxes.

He meets a young woman, they fall in love, marry, and have a child, but John never realizes his dreams—at least not in



Charlie Chaplin's Little Tramp prepares to eat his shoe out of the screen of an ornate movie theater.

the way that he has dreamt them. One of the most striking images is of John and his then-girlfriend seeing a sandwich-board sign walker dressed as a clown. They laugh good-naturedly at him but there is an edge of fear in John's face that he could well end up in a job like that.

Vidor was born in Galveston Texas, the son of a lumberman, his grandfather a refugee of the Hungarian Revolution of the mid-1800s. He worked his way up as a newsreel cameraman and projectionist. He had a fine feel for the rhythms of ordinary life and small heroics. *The Crowd* is considered his masterpiece, though he went on to direct films until the '70s. However, despite his love of the common man and his enlightened (for the times) ideas about race, Vidor joined the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, the organization that aided the blacklisting of many people in the film industry by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on charges of their being part of the Communist conspiracy.

Jules Dassin was influenced by his Ukrainian and Polish-Jewish background and became a member of the Communist Party in the 1930s, but he left it after

the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939. He spoke his philosophy of life loudly through his early films noirs: *Brute Force*, *The Naked City*, and *Thieves' Highway*. The 1949 *Thieves' Highway*—his last film before he left for Europe—has a documentary feel to it, and the actors, including Richard Conte and Lee J. Cobb, have the grittiness that suited the realism of the film.

Conte plays a WWII vet who comes home to find his truck-driver father crippled by a beating from a corrupt produce dealer in San Francisco's burgeoning produce market. Conte's character decides to strike back, after he tries with little success to revive his father's business. The scenes in the produce markets of San Francisco, at the farms of the Central Valley, and on the road were all shot with real workers. Film noir-themed movies, produced from the '30s through the '50s, were often ripe for social commentary, with a dark view of a dark period in American politics.

HUAC drove Harlem-raised Dassin out of Hollywood to France, where he revived his career.

Japan's post-WWII film industry was plagued by the American occupation's censorship and a lack of production funds. But out of that period, one of Japan's most famous film directors, Akira Kurosawa, managed to fashion several near-noir films that starred his leading man Toshiro Mifune—who Kurosawa went on to work with in 15 films. In *Drunken Angel* and *Red Beard*, Kurosawa glorified doctors fighting for the dignity of their poor patients. Both films are masterpieces, but his independently produced 1949 movie *Stray Dog* demonstrates the wide-ranging eye of a director who loves the common man.

Mifune plays an army veteran, now a police detective, who early in the film has his gun stolen—a tool so highly valued in post-war times that armed police were personally responsible for their replacement or retrieval. In Mifune's wide ranging hunt for his gun, we are exposed to a cross-section of a Tokyo barely recovering from a crippling defeat, where starvation is common and dispossessed vets have turned to crime. Unlike other police procedurals, *Stray Dog* makes you feel the sweat and dirt of the policeman's world. Violence



King Vidor's aerial opening shot of New York city narrows down to John Sims at his one desk among hundreds of other desks.

may be endemic, but it plays out as the result of a failed society. There are no clear good guys or bad guys. Although Kurosawa came from a samurai family on his father's side and a merchant family on his mother's side, he had a spiritual awakening from the 1923 earthquake that devastated Tokyo, the suicide death of his favorite brother, and then the war. A painter by preference and a member of the Proletarian Artist's League, Kurosawa moved into the film industry when he saw that painting couldn't fulfill his political ideals. His protagonists—even in his samurai films—are down-to-earth professionals possessed of strong wills and love of life.

Charles Burnett was a child of Watts, the largely African-American neighborhood of South Los Angeles. He was 21 when Watts erupted in racial violence in 1965 that killed 34 people, injured a thousand, and destroyed much of the area. Burnett had a strong desire for a career and studied to be an electrician, but he got sidetracked by a writing class, which led him to the UCLA Film School. At that time the UCLA Film School was wide open, essentially giving students cameras and saying, "Go forth!" Burnett's thesis film was *Killer of Sheep*, written, directed, and edited by him. It's an amazing, unique record of a Watts family whose patriarch has a job he hates in a meat-packing plant, where he kills sheep and butchers them. Although the

scenes on the killing floor are brief and purposely disjointed, *Killer of Sheep* is one of the strongest films made that captures the everyday life of a working-class family of any color. Its rough editing and use of a wide range of Black music—from Paul Robeson to Dinah Washington—punctuating short, punchy scenes draws you into the life of Watts and the struggles for survival of its residents.

The child actors (all amateurs, as were the adults) provide a fantastic counterpoint to the grown-ups, and many of the scenes with the children stand on their own with the strongest dramatic scenes. Burnett made the film in 1970 and released it in 1977 to little acclaim, but it has been rediscovered and dubbed a generational masterpiece.



Toshiro Mifune and Takashi Shimura, as cop partners, find their way through post-war Tokyo's underworld in the search for Mifune's gun in *Stray Dog*.

In Burnett's words, "That's one of the reasons why we haven't made social progress. We don't use film as a means to confront real issues that over time will create a better society." Milestone Films has restored the film and re-released it. It's not an easy film to watch, but it's a necessary film for anyone to see.

In 1978, a year after Burnett released *Killer of Sheep*, Patric Schrader, coming off his success as the screenwriter of *Taxi Driver*, directed and wrote *Blue Collar*. Starring Harvey Keitel, Richard Pryor, and Yaphet Kotto, it was filmed in the Checker Cab plant, and it captures what it is like on the production line. Pryor walks a tightrope between a comedic loudmouth and a frustrated worker who is loyal to his union. The film was sold as a crime drama, but it really isn't. There is attempted robbery, a cover-up, corruption, and a murder, but Schrader seemed more concerned in his script with depicting the lives and friendships of the three principals.

A creepy character, played by Cliff DeYoung, is an FBI informant trying his damndest to alienate workers from their union. Schrader had a mental breakdown on the set, mainly because the three starring actors didn't get along, and Richard Pryor at one point pulled a gun on Schrader. Their real-life tension, however, makes the film's characters all the more volatile and believable. At a budget of 1.7 million, *Blue Collar* was a low-budget indie.

Large theater chains didn't pick it up because of its union-friendly politics, but the new industry of independent art houses embraced it.

The rise of documentaries as popular art-house fare in the last 15 years in particular has camouflaged many narrative films that address important labor and working-class issues. That's a shame, particularly when we have so many ways of seeing a film now.

The information streams are many. Among more recent films, *The Florida Project* should be must-see viewing. And mining the past can turn up eye-opening archaeological finds—among them Charlie Chaplin's *The Kid* and *Woman of Paris* and William Wellman's *Heroes for Sale* and *Wild Boys of the Road*. Seek, and ye shall find. **IW**

## The “vicious but brilliant exploitation” that drives right-wing economics

By Hamilton Nolan  
*Splinter*, Jan. 4, 2018

This month [January 2018], Thea Lee took over as president of the Economic Policy Institute, America's premier left-wing economic think tank. We spoke to her about Trumponomics and the fight for equality.

Lee spent two decades as an economist at the AFL-CIO, America's largest federation of unions, before taking over as head of EPI—a group that produces some damn good charts.\* She will have her work cut out for her.

**Splinter:** What do you think are the root causes of the decline of unions and organized labor in America, over the past several decades?

**Thea Lee:** There's probably not a single cause. But I think that I would start with the pretty concerted attack on unions and workers by the right. And it's been a successful attack. They identified unions as the biggest threat to consolidation of power by the wealthy and corporations, in terms of electoral impact. And they were right. Unions are a successful organizing force, both in elections and in the political debate.

That concerted attack happened at the state level and the national level. We've been decades and decades without any modernization or strengthening of our labor laws, as the world has changed around us. For labor it becomes a vicious cycle, where you're small and you're weak so you don't have enough political power to change the laws to make union organizing easier and fairer, and then you become smaller and weaker and you lose power.

**Splinter:** Are there any realistic ways for labor to break out of that vicious cycle you describe?

**Lee:** That is the question, isn't it? Is there a turning point, a point at which you hit bottom? Sometimes it feels like we're at that turning point right now. Things have become so bleak and grim in terms of the political landscape, and there's been so much overreach on the part of Republicans in Congress, that maybe that has created the opportunity for both political change and cultural change and institutional change. And we need all of them. . . .

**Splinter:** Do you think the rise in economic inequality is at the heart of our current political insanity?

**Lee:** I think it is. What's happened is there has been a really vicious but brilliant exploitation of that inequality to

create racial and other divisions within the working class. And that's been remarkably successful, unfortunately. It's an age-old thing, and we've seen historically that when the working class is divided amongst itself and set to squabbling between immigrants and native-born, and black and white, and Latino and Asian, that's something that never benefits workers in the long run. And that's something that we're seeing now in a really grotesque version.

**Splinter:** Who's driving that exploitation? Is it just the investor class trying to enrich itself, or is there more to it?

**Lee:** At the end of the day, if you look at who the big beneficiaries are of the recent tax reform bill, it does feel like the investor class not just tolerated Donald Trump, but was complicit in that trend because they saw that there was a personal and class benefit. . . .

**Splinter:** How much of the rise of inequality in America is a result of a

together, and are part of a single package. The kind of corporate dominated globalization that the United States has engaged in over the past couple of decades, through both Democratic and Republican administrations, is a key part of that—a key part of undermining the bargaining power of workers by giving multinational corporations massive mobility, massive flexibility, and political power, and leaving workers stranded. . . . **Splinter:** Is it really possible for a group like EPI to get your message heard widely at a time when the media environment is so polarized politically?

**Lee:** All we can do is to stay strong and to stay true to our voices and what we believe, and hope that people recognize after a while that there are lies that are told over and over again and have never come true. Taxes are one of the biggest areas. You start with Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush, and Kansas, and every other time that this same phony narrative has been put forward: that if

we cut taxes, then business will be so successful, and they'll bring jobs home, and they'll pay their workers more. There has not been a time in history where that has worked out as promised. At some point maybe people will stop falling for the same cheap rhetoric.

**Splinter:** Is there anything you're hopeful about in the near term, or are we just in for three bad years?

**Lee:** I think there's a lot of room for progressives to put forward a powerful set of pro-worker policies that will be attractive and that are needed and wanted right now. We've had a year of the Trump administration's broken promises and fake populism. It really has failed on so many different fronts.

This is our opportunity to show what international solidarity looks like, what a non-racist, non-xenophobic, non-sexist, non-divisive real populism looks like. There's a hunger for it.

\*EPI's charts are at <http://www.epi.org/publication/top-charts-of-2017-12-charts-that-show-the-real-problems-policies-must-tackle-not-the-made-up-ones/>  
Find the article at <https://splinternews.com/the-vicious-but-brilliant-exploitation-that-drives-rt-1821740882> **IW**



political agenda, and how much of it is us being at the mercy of broader global trends like technological change and globalization?

**Lee:** I think it's definitely the outcome of a very clear political agenda of disempowering and undermining workers. Through the attacks on unions, "right to work" in Wisconsin and Michigan and other key states, failure to increase the minimum wage, taxes and so on. That's real. Things have gone

# I was not protected from Harvey Weinstein. It's time for institutional change

By Mia Kirshner

*The Globe and Mail*, Oct. 13, 2017

I could waste this precious space on Harvey Weinstein by describing my own ordeal with him. An ordeal in a hotel room where he attempted to treat me like chattel that could be purchased with the promise of work in exchange for being his disposable orifice.

But I'm not giving that man, a newly crowned figurehead of sexual abuse, the privilege of more ink. There are broader and more urgent issues to address. And if we don't address them now, I fear that when the headlines about Harvey Weinstein fade, what will remain is a disease in my own industry.

The disease is the act of turning a blind eye to sexual harassment and abuse carried out by those who wield power in the film industry. Fear of speaking out has become malignant, silencing the majority of the community. In my case, I was encouraged by former managers and agents to forget about what happened to me. People in Mr. Weinstein's position have the power to make or break careers, to blacklist someone who protests against their advances. In turn, my own representatives at the time did nothing. Their silence spoke volumes about power and fear within the film industry. And I was far too quiet myself. All I did was tell my peers what happened to me and warn them about this dangerous man. In turn, both my unions—the Screen Actors' Guild (SAG) and the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA)—offered inadequate protection should I have launched a complaint.

In a business climate like this, what recourse does an actor have if they experience sexual harassment or abuse? Very little. This goes to the heart of why so many actors probably remained silent.

... There is little comfort in being met with silence. There is shame, rage, and isolation. Should an actor buck the system by speaking out, the fear of seeing your career destroyed is real—especially if you are not yet well established in the industry. Actors may fear that speaking out could cost them their ability to pay bills and support their families.

That is why, in spite of the current groundswell, it is still not safe to speak against sexual harassment and abuse in the film industry as of today. SAG and ACTRA do not have holistic policies and

procedures should their members file complaints. That needs to change now. And change does not mean publishing another well-meaning brochure or e-mail blast about anti-harassment policies. Statements pledging support for survivors of sexual harassment and assault are not going to cut it.

So, how can the unions support their members in a more meaningful and tangible way?

First of all, can we agree that no more meetings for anything related to work be held in hotel rooms? That would be up to the unions to firmly enforce.

Second, the unions need a new system for investigating allegations of wrongdoing.

Currently, if a SAG member launches a complaint, the union writes a letter and asks that the production house or studio involved conduct an internal investigation of the alleged abuse. You can imagine its effectiveness. An in-house investigation by the very nature of being in-house does not cultivate impartiality. Especially when the person being investigated runs or owns the studio. Complaints about these matters that are raised within our unions should trigger an independent third-party investigation.

Third, what do the unions do to protect a member should they be blacklisted by the alleged perpetrator after speaking out? Again, very little. ACTRA, for example, has no system or database that monitors missed work opportunities of those who launched a complaint. If an actor is never hired by the alleged perpetrator again, what penalties are in place by the union? If an industry member is found to have a pattern of blacklisting an individual who launched a complaint against them, what will the union do? Will it continue to allow the member to work with other union members? Any effort to blacklist an actor who refuses sexual advances (by a producer, director, etc.) should trigger real consequences against the offender. But again, how can the unions produce evidence of blacklisting if no monitoring is in place?

Fourth, better mental-health supports should be put in place to treat the psychological impact of sexual abuse. Yes, the unions do have a health-care plan that covers therapy, but the allotted amount will cover only a handful of sessions. That is not enough. Most actors



cannot afford costly, long-term therapy. And finding free psychological support is extremely difficult, especially with exploding wait-lists. The toll of being without mental care is enormous, eventually affecting all areas of life.

So what now?

My industry, filled with vital talent, shares my desire for overhauling the current system. As a proud Canadian, I would like to see my union, ACTRA, create the gold standard for how complaints of sexual harassment and abuse are handled in the workplace. It can do it. Dedicated and smart people work within this union. We need the unions to be mighty with strength in creating radical new policies and procedures, which will make it impossible for members to work with proven sexual predators.

In doing this, I hope that the unions will not work in isolation, but in concert with all of the unions and major stakeholders in the industry, speaking with one firm voice.

Beyond film-industry stakeholders, lawmakers need to act. Stronger laws and punishments are needed to curb sexual impropriety.

This will not be easy, but we cannot go back to the status quo. We have had enough.

Speaking out is powerful, and cathartic but it won't change the status quo.

Don't give us another brochure or hotline to call. Please don't release a statement about how the union supports its own. It's not enough. Protect us. Change this ineffective system.

Men and women need to look within their own workplace cultures and demand immediate change. And if we don't, all of us are complicit in our silence and indifference. And if that happens, the disease will continue to spread.

Mia Kirshner is a Canadian actor, writer, and social activist. **IW**

# The inspiration of art and the IWW

By John Kaniecki

Any movement first begins with an idea. This is true with anything, including the IWW. When the "One Big Union" was formed, its concept was revolutionary. The idea was based on the truth that the workers did all the work. If only those who labored united, they could control the world.

Of course, things don't change overnight. There is struggle in life, and class warfare is part of that fight. On one hand you have the worker, just trying to stay alive on their meager wages. On the other hand, you have the boss, who wants to accumulate more, despite his already fantastic riches. As a result, when the worker wants to claim their fair share, he is met with resistance, sometimes violent and deadly. History is full of these clashes. It is the job of the artist to tell the brave deeds of the working class.

There is a fine line between art and propaganda. I don't write to move people. Rather I am moved to write. I look at all the brave people in history who fought for the common person and a feeling touches my heart and soul. I take this shared flame and through my artistic gift I write words of inspiration. In my book *Poet to the Poor: Poems of Hope for the Bottom One Percent*, I have poems about Joe Hill, Pete Seeger, Mumia Abu Jamal, Fred Hampton, Chief Joseph, Jesus, the Haymarket Leaders, Mother Jones, and others. This list of recognizable names is mixed with unknown stories

of individuals from my own life. The combination is a book I assembled to inspire the average person and tell the stories of working-class heroes.

In addition to poetry and song lyrics, I write fiction. In my stories I also incorporate my working class ideas along with a myriad of others. It is the job of the storyteller to keep a person entertained, and I feel challenging people with new ideas and making them think helps fulfill that calling. To teach new things, many times the subtle approach is more effective than the blatant.

I close with my award-winning poem, "Tea with Joe Hill" from *Poet to the Poor*.

## Tea with Joe Hill

Joe Hill and I had tea  
He let his biscuits soak  
They say America is free  
Man how they love to joke  
Ask Sacco and Vanzetti  
Ask Red Cloud and Crazy Horse  
And the way I see  
Is things are getting worse

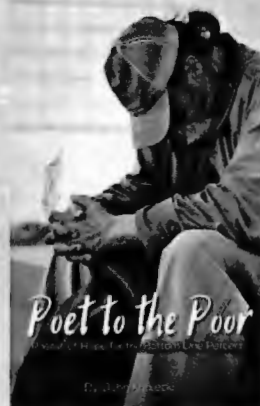
I said "Joe why ain't you dead?"  
Righteousness is like Love my friend  
Laughed Joe as he shook his head  
Spirits never die and never end  
A thousand tyrants and all their force  
In truth could never compete  
With the Love that is the source  
Of one of my melodies sweet  
You see death and life they coexist

Some never die and some never live  
So songs of revolution will always persist  
For unto themselves my songs give

So open your eyes and organize  
Never give in to their lies and organize  
Do not hate and despise but organize  
Raise your voice in mighty cries and organize

Joe slurped the last of his tea  
And bid me a final farewell  
Above all fight to be free  
You'll get heaven when you give them hell

FW John Kaniecki volunteers in his community, is active with New Jersey Peace Action, and advocates for the mentally ill. You can find John's poetry and writing at <http://johnkanecki.blogspot.com/> as well as <http://lamzn.to/2wIoX7G>. John is open to hearing from composers who'd like to set his poetry to music. **IW**



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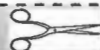
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Cut on the dotted line.



# Workers' art

By Craig Bledsoe

*"The work of art is a scream of freedom."—Christo*

When we talk about workers' art, what do we mean? Is it art depicting the lives of working-class people? Is it art created by working-class people themselves? Is it art about the lives and circumstances of the working-class produced by the working-class? The likely answer would be all of these.

Is art an essential component of resistance to fascism, capitalism, and other manifestations of tyranny, oppression, coercion, and slavery? Is it essential because art is "a scream of freedom," as the artist Christo asserted? Is it "propaganda of the deed"? Is the production of art, as an expression of humanity, fundamental to freedom? Can true freedom manifest and endure without art?

Surely, workers' art must include what is commonly referred to as "folk art." And although the terms "worker" and "working-class" didn't really come into common use until the advent of the Industrial Revolution, art produced by common people prior to then should be considered workers' art. Even the ancient peoples of prehistory, the hunter-gatherers, who had no "bourgeois" class lording over them during their time must have worked hard, and worked very hard indeed, to create the "wealth" of their subsistence. We should regard their cave-paintings, carvings, and other artistic creations, no matter the purpose, as workers' art.

All in all, there is quite a lot to consider when undertaking such an examination, and that examination goes hand in hand with the history of the working class. And although a lot is certainly encompassed within the history of workers' art and music prior to the Industrial Revolution, for the purposes of this article, the Industrial Revolution can be seen as the real beginnings what we call the working class of today and, therefore, workers' art.

Realism was an artistic movement originating in France during the 1840s that rejected idealist images in favor of more realistic depictions of day-to-day life. The Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution influenced this reaction against traditional art and literature. Realism did not shy away from the unpleasant or sordid aspects of life, seeking to portray them with truth

and accuracy. It was a reaction against monarchy and the bourgeoisie—and against the rarefied institutions and academies that dictated the definition of art. The Realists developed a new form of painting, using earthy colors in their palettes to accurately portray the a society changed by political and cultural developments. With the advent of photography, Realism took workers' art to a different level.

Tramp art was a world-wide art movement dating from the 1870s into the 1940s; however, it was created primarily in the United States. Over fifty different ethnic groups have been documented as having made tramp art.

Sometimes referred to as a "democratic" art form, it was practiced at home by farmers, people who worked in factories, and laborers from many different trades and occupations. The art produced was utilitarian in nature, with picture frames and boxes being the most popular types of art produced. Materials used for construction were scavenged from commonly available items of the time, such as cigar boxes and wooden crates. They were often carved and layered into intricate geometric patterns to achieve the desired effect. Simple tools, such as pocket knives and the like, were used to do the work. Although some hobos and tramps made some tramp art, the name "tramp art" was not associated with the movement until a much later time than when it was being practiced. Tramp art truly was a form of workers' art, because most of folks who participated in producing tramp art were working-class people with a home-based life.

Dadaism (Dada) was an early 20th century avant-garde art movement that arose as a reaction to World War I in 1916 and rejected the logic, reason, aestheticism, and nationalism of modern capitalist society. It expressed, among other sentiments, anti-bourgeois protest. Dadaist artists expressed their disdain

for violence, war, and nationalism and maintained political affinities with the radical left. Their art took form in sculpture, painting, poetry, performing arts, photography, and collage. The Surrealist artistic and cultural movement developed out of Dada and was strongly influenced by the work of Sigmund Freud. Surrealism affected the visual arts, literature, film, and music, as well as political thought and practice, philosophy, and social theory. Surrealist André Breton asserted that above all Surrealism was a revolutionary movement. The Surrealists' split with Dada can be seen as a split between communists and anarchists, with the Surrealists supporting Trotsky.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), established in 1935 at the height of the Depression, was part of the U.S. government's New Deal program. It was renamed the Work Projects Administration in 1939. It employed large numbers of unskilled men to carry out public works projects, such as the construction of public buildings and roads. Another aspect of the WPA was known as Federal Project Number One, which employed musicians, writers, actors, directors, and artists to produce theater, media, and literacy projects. Jackson Pollock, Lee Krasner, Willem de Kooning, and Mark Rothko, best known as pioneers of Abstract Expressionism, were among the thousands of artists and other creatives employed by the WPA during the years of 1935 and 1943. Although these painters were able to create their own art during this period, their designated jobs were to create illustrations and posters for the other projects under the WPA, to provide art classes to communities, and establish art centers around the country.

Workers' art is still present in our society, reacting against the same things as the Realists, Dadaists, and Surrealists. The visual arts, film, and television—especially with the advent of on-demand media—create historical and fictional presentations of workers' struggles. Graphic artists create comics, posters, and anarchist graffiti and street art. Music has developed beyond the "folk" music of the people, into Country, Rock, Punk, and beyond with the common theme of celebrating working people. There is much more, but I leave that for another article. **IW**



## Washington's L&I begins enforcement of sick leave

State agency provides a variety of services for workers

Jan. 11, 2018

New Year's Day in Washington State began with a higher minimum wage and enforcement of new paid sick leave for workers statewide.

It's the role of the state Department of Labor & Industries to enforce those laws. But that's only part of what the agency does for workers. Making workplaces safe is the top goal, besides helping injured workers heal and return to work, and helping honest workers, businesses, and medical providers by cracking down on dishonest ones.

More resources for workers can be found at [www.Lni.wa.gov/workplacerrights](http://www.Lni.wa.gov/workplacerrights). This includes filing wage complaints online, rights of farm workers, and teen-worker safety.

### Sick leave

Mandatory sick leave for workers took effect Jan. 1, 2018. Under the new paid sick-leave law, employees earn at least one hour of paid sick leave for every 40 hours worked. The law also requires employers to carry over up to 40 hours of an employee's unused sick leave from one year to the next.

## PAID SICK DAYS

"Paid sick leave is important for all of us. No one wants employees to come to work sick. It's bad for them, their coworkers, and customers," said L&I Director Joel Sacks. "The new law allows employees to take care of themselves, or their family members, when they're sick. It makes our state a better place to work."

Washington is the seventh state to have a paid sick leave law. Others include California, Oregon, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Arizona, as well as the District of Columbia.

What the specific regulations cover can be found at [www.Lni.wa.gov/Sickleave](http://www.Lni.wa.gov/Sickleave).

### Higher minimum wage

Initiative 1433, approved in November 2016, also instituted a series of minimum



wage increases. For 2018, the minimum wage is now \$11.50 per hour.

Previously, the state's minimum wage was pegged to the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers (CPI-W). With passage of the initiative, the minimum wage will increase to \$13.50 by 2020. L&I will then resume calculating the minimum wage for calendar years 2021 and beyond using the CPI-W.

In fiscal year 2017, L&I investigated 5,895 wage complaints and collected \$3.5 million in wages owed to workers. Since the state's Wage Payment Act took effect in 2006, which is the law that sets the agency's responsibilities for investigating and citing, L&I has returned more than \$27 million in unpaid wages to more than 22,000 state workers. The agency investigates all wage payment complaints it receives, as required by state law.

### Make workplaces safe

Washington State already is a leader in the effort to make workplaces safe. Washington's worker fatality rate is one-third lower than the national average.

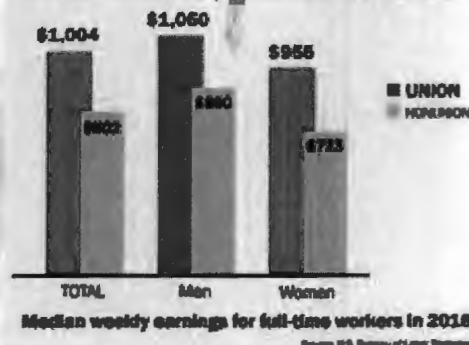
Among the agency accomplishments:

- Washington had the lowest construction fatality rate in the nation in 2015 (most recent data available). This occurred even while construction in the state is booming and continues to be a high-risk industry. Overall, Washington's fatality rate was third lowest in the nation.
- The agency's Division of Occupational Safety and Health (DOSH) received a 2017 award for Onsite Consultation Achievement Recognition from the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration. The award acknowledges DOSH's safety outreach efforts to the agricultural industry, a new pocket guide for agriculture industry safety and health, and a certification program taught in both English and Spanish—unique in the U.S.

- Washington is the first in the nation to adopt rules that encompass emerging telecommunications technology. Cell-tower deaths are increasing nationally: For tower climbers, the death rate is 10 times the average for construction workers. While there are no federal standards, L&I's rules are expected to serve as a model for OSHA and other state plans.

It's worth noting one of every six claims to L&I for which benefits are paid is a sprain or strain of the back from overexertion or repetitive motion—making it the most commonly reported workplace injury. A lack of fall protection or protective equipment is among the most frequently cited hazards.

## THE UNION DIFFERENCE



In fiscal year 2016, workers' comp covered 2.8 million workers in the state, and the agency received 110,490 claims. Eighty-five percent of the claims were accepted.

### Help injured workers heal and return to work

L&I is recognized as a national leader in innovative return-to-work programs and incentives.

L&I has several initiatives underway that are lowering costs by focusing on better outcomes for injured workers. Some examples include promoting workplace safety, ensuring injured workers receive quality health care, providing vocational services to workers, and supporting employers who want to keep injured workers on a job.

In the last four years, these and other improvements have resulted in a more than \$1.7 billion reduction in projected long-term costs for the workers' compensation system.

Both workers and employers pay into the system to help cover the cost of providing wage and disability benefits, as well as medical treatment of injuries and illnesses. The agency is working to keep premium rates steady and predictable. In fact, the 2018 rate dropped 2.5 percent, the first decline in the hourly rate since 2007. In the last five years, the average annual workers' compensation rate increase has been under 1 percent.

Also in recent years, L&I has been providing vocational support and assistance much earlier in claims. This is helping reduce long-term disability and improving return-to-work results for those hurt on the job. The agency's Stay at Work Program is also making a difference, providing employers more than \$58 million to help keep more than 25,000 workers on light duty while they heal.

In all, there have been great gains made in helping injured workers return to the job and avoid long-term disability. In fact, the long-term disability rate is down 19 percent since 2012 — that equals more than 800 workers annually who don't become disabled.

#### **Help honest workers, businesses**

Through its investigations, prosecutions, and audits, L&I is achieving its goal to help honest workers, businesses, and medical providers by cracking down on the dishonest ones.

The list of these sorts of cases is lengthy:

- A Kent landscaper with a history of illegal contracting charged in consumer scams;
- A former insurance agent jailed in a \$233,000 workers' comp scam;
- Fines against a firm for violating conditions in hiring ag workers

—just to name a few.

In fact, for every dollar spent on Workers' Compensation fraud prevention, \$11.45 was returned to the state. And the agency has been focusing more on late premium payments, fines, and penalties while reducing its operating costs.

There is more the agency does to protect workers, of course. L&I last year provided nearly 250,000 electrical inspections and pursued non-licensed contractors doing unpermitted work. The agency also has boiler and elevator inspectors, who hold owners accountable for safety testing and maintenance. **IW**

## **Preface to "The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists" by Robert Tressell**

*From the Editor:* The author of *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists* rejected his upbringing and an income from absentee landlordism to make his own way on his own terms. He was born to Mary Noonan in Dublin, Ireland, in 1870, the illegitimate son of a married man, Samuel Croker. Robert went by Croker and then by his stepfather Sebastian Zumbühl's name until, when he was 16, his burgeoning radical political consciousness caused him to leave middle-class safety and make his own way in the world. He took his mother's maiden name as his surname, but the name he is remembered by is his pen name, Robert Tressell. His short life was a sad but inspiring one, worth learning about. But for now, read his own words about why he wrote his one and only book, *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists*, published in 1914, which is still a relevant piece of art for workers today.

In writing this book my intention was to present, in the form of an interesting story, a faithful picture of working-class life—more especially of those engaged in the Building trades—in a small town in the south of England.

I wished to describe the relations existing between the workmen and their employers, the attitude and feelings of these two classes towards each other; their circumstances when at work and when out of employment; their pleasures, their intellectual outlook, their religious and political opinions and ideals.

The action of the story covers a period of only a little over twelve months, but in order that the picture might be complete it was necessary to describe how the workers are circumstanced at all periods of their lives, from the cradle to the grave. Therefore the characters include women and children, a young boy—the apprentice—some improvers, journeymen in the prime of life, and worn-out old men.

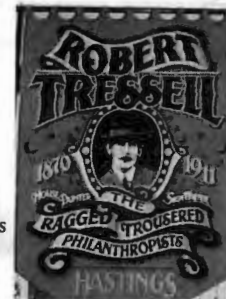
I designed to show the conditions relating from poverty and unemployment: to expose the futility of the measures taken to deal with them and to indicate what I believe to be the only real remedy, namely—Socialism. I intended to explain what Socialists understand by the word "poverty": to define the Socialist theory of the causes of poverty, and to explain how Socialists propose to abolish poverty.

It may be objected that, considering the number of books dealing with these subjects already existing, such a work as this was uncalled for. The answer is that not only are the majority of people opposed to Socialism, but a very brief conversation with an average anti-socialist is sufficient to show that he does not know what Socialism means. The same is true of all the anti-socialist writers and the "great statesmen" who make anti-socialist speeches: unless we believe that they are deliberate liars and imposters, who to serve their own interests labour to mislead other people, we must conclude that they do not understand Socialism. There is no other possible explanation of the extraordinary things they write and say. The thing they cry out against is not Socialism but a phantom of their own imagining.

Another answer is that *The Philanthropists* is not a treatise or essay, but a novel. My main object was to write a readable story full of human interest and based on the happenings of everyday life, the subject of Socialism being treated incidentally.

This was the task I set myself. To what extent I have succeeded is for others to say; but whatever their verdict, the work possesses at least one merit—that of being true. I have invented nothing. There are no scenes or incidents in the story that I have not either witnessed myself or had conclusive evidence of. As far as I dared I let the characters express themselves in their own sort of language and consequently some passages may be considered objectionable. At the same time I believe that—because it is true—the book is not without its humorous side.

The scenes and characters are typical of every town in the South of England and they will be readily recognized by those concerned. If the book is published I think it will appeal to a very large number of readers. Because it is true it will probably be denounced as a libel on the working classes and their employers, and upon the religious-professing section of the community. But I believe it will be acknowledged as true by most of those who are compelled to spend their lives amid the surroundings it describes, and it will be evident that no attack is made upon sincere religion. **IW**



# Lost in translation—strike at Amazon in Italia

By Peter Olney

Even though there is no Thanksgiving in Italy, the lack of a "Giorno di Ringraziamento" [Thanksgiving Day] does not mean that there is no Black Friday. In fact, for many years now Italian merchants have celebrated the last Friday in November with discounts that fill their stores with the same bargain-hungry masses as in the United States. So Black Friday this year was the day that the three Italian trade union Federations chose as a strategic day to strike Amazon's million square foot distribution center in Castel San Giovanni near Piacenza in Northern Italy. This was the first strike in Amazon's history in Italy. There have been some job actions at Amazon in Germany. Italy is a growth market for Amazon and two more warehouses have opened in Northern Italy in Vercelli (mid-way between Milan and Turin) and Passo Corese in the region of Lazio in Central Italy.

The warehouse in San Giovanni is the size of 11 football/soccer fields. The facility opened in 2015. At 5 AM on Friday, November 24, about 50% of the 1,600 "Blue Badge" permanent employees stayed off of work and struck. There are however another 2,000 temporary "Green Badge," short-term and seasonal employees, most all of whom came to work. Amazon spokespersons insisted that the strike was only 10% of the workforce because, of course, they were factoring in the temporary employees. Amazon had agreed to sit down with the unions on the Monday following the strike (November 27) but subsequently canceled that meeting and unilaterally moved it to January 18th. The unions warned that if there were not substantive face-to-face discussions by December 6th that there would be more actions. Amazon on December 5 agreed to meet on December 11th! On December 6th the pressure on Amazon was heightened by a ruling by AGCOM (Autorità per Le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni [Authority for Guarantees in Communications]) the Italian authority charged with regulating all communications. AGCOM ruled that the operations of Amazon were substantially similar to Le Poste Italiane and therefore Amazon was warned that within 15 days they would have to comply with the collective labor contract negotiated for Italian postal workers! Talk about tightening the noose . . .!

## amazon.com

The strike, of course, received widespread coverage in the world business press. In the United States an excellent article from the left daily *Il Manifesto* by Massimo Franchi was translated and circulated in progressive labor circles. The issues that led to the strike are certainly universal: pay, health and safety, and arbitrary treatment. It is estimated that Amazon workers walk about 20 kilometers on average per day without coffee breaks and with a miserable 30-minute lunch break that is consumed by travel time from one's work post to the cafeteria: often about 8 minutes. What gets lost in translation are the differences in the industrial relations systems in the two countries.

Three labor federations with their particular sectoral affiliates all calling and leading a strike of their members in one company? Striking without winning certified majority support among the workers? What, are we on the moon here? Italy in the aftermath of WWII and mandated by Article 39 of the Constitution has a national system of sectoral negotiations coupled with a very detailed and complicated system of labor jurisprudence. Labor is even sanctified in Article 1 of the post-WWII Constitution that states: "L'Italia è una Repubblica democratica fondata sul lavoro" [Italy is a democratic republic founded on labor]! Sectoral bargaining happens because of the historical power of the largely Communist-led labor movement (coming out of the anti-fascist struggle for liberation), which included large-scale strikes against the Nazi Fascists. Originally in 1947 there was one labor federation, but the interests of the Christian Democrats and the Western-capital led to the founding of an additional two major federations

(CISL and UIL) in the late '40s. The employer associations in different sectors meet with the unions and establish a national contract that regulates basic wages and conditions for all the workers in a particular industry. Such is true for warehousing and logistics, and Amazon is not exempt from such basic provisions, even if not one Amazon worker is a member of one of the unions in that sector. Our US system, of course, is enterprise based, and it is a ferocious struggle particularly in the private sector to win a union in one location and apply the basic terms of a contract. It can often take years and much grief and heartbreak for a union to prevail, even with the support of 100% of the workforce. Conceptually the idea of sectoral bargaining resonates with many American trade unionists looking for a way out of the isolation and powerlessness of company-specific organization. The Italian sectoral agreements apply to 85% of all Italian workers in companies large and small. Our private-sector contracts only cover 6.7% of the workforce, down from 35% in 1955. Such sectoral agreements, of course, don't come out of a "good idea" or "an enterprising thought"; these agreements and this system are the product of some of the most violent and militant struggle in the Western world. Thinking doesn't make it so . . .

However the Italians, while representing most of the workforce in their national agreements, only have 30% of the workforce signed up as members (all 3 Federations). This is not good news as the



Industries under AGCOM authority

Amazon case illustrates. The unions are free to demand meetings with Amazon to discuss improving on the national agreement. Such improvements are needed. For instance, Amazon has basically insti-

basically instituted a permanent Sunday shift. The national agreement calls for a 5% shift premium, but given that this is a permanent shift not an occasional interference with the Sabbath, the unions are demanding a 40% differential for those who regularly work that day. But Amazon feels no compulsion to meet, let alone agree to, such conditions unless the workers can flex their muscles in strikes, slowdowns, etc. So when the Piacenza facility first opened about three years ago, there were initially 23 members of the CGIL. Through patient organizing meetings at work and away from work, etc.—all tactics American organizers would recognize—the membership has grown and the strike can go forward. The Vercelli warehouse has just opened, and there are only a handful of members among the 500 employees and there is no capacity to strike, but the organizing continues there and at Passo Corese.

Italian law does not permit the firing or “permanent replacement” of strikers that US law allows in many situations, but nevertheless on-the-job retaliation and favoritism are not unheard of, even for employees who have “permanent” employment under Italian labor law. For instance, often employees prefer to pay their union fees on a monthly basis direct to the union rather than having the employer deduct them from their checks. This is protective anonymity in workplaces where the union is still nascent and struggling to build power.

Amazon has become a symbol of the new economy in Italy, and the unions are determined to make these new workplaces union fortresses. While the Italian system has many advantages and represents a far more developed system than our own, patient worker-based organizing remains the fundamental building block of any “sectoral strategy.”

Stay tuned, negotiations and maybe more strikes and job actions to come, good organizing permitting . . .

*This article was first published under the name “Saggio da San Frediano # 8 – Lost in Translation – Strike at Amazon in Italia” on December 10, 2017, in The Stansbury Forum. You can find the original of this article at <http://stansburyforum.com/saggio-da-san-frediano-8-lost-in-translation-strike-at-amazon-in-italia>. Peter Olney is one of the operators of The Stansbury Forum, which features regular discussion by writers, activists, and scholars on the topics that Jeff Stansbury focused his life on: labor, immigration, the environment, politics, and world affairs. IW*

The gravedigger  
knows where he  
fits . . .

## fiefdom

By Vince Veritas

Some Americans have come to believe  
Life would be great in a fiefdom  
Where the lords have their way with fetching ladies  
Have bloodhounds and servants to feed them

A fiefdom needs a fearsome leader  
Who can raise an army when he needs to  
So the lords are safe to feast and conspire  
As their mounds of gold grow ever higher

And the peasant knows where he fits  
The soldier knows where he fits  
And they all get just enough so to fear  
They could lose what little bits they've got

The castle has walls thick and tall  
And a moat deep and wide  
The drawbridge can go up and down  
Unless they're too scared to let a stranger inside

The Black Death is ever a threat  
And the priests say it's ever god's will  
The mead is sweet and helps one to forget  
And the serf falls into debt to pay his bill

And the scullery drudge knows where she fits  
The midwife knows where she fits  
And they all get just enough so to fear  
They could lose what little bits they've got

Some Americans have come to believe  
Life would be great in a fiefdom  
Where the lords can lie about anything  
And the peasants are keen to believe them

When the Black Death takes its toll  
They burn a witch or two at the stake  
The priests say it's ever god's will  
The lords giveth and the lords take

And the jester knows where he fits  
The gravedigger knows where he fits  
And they all get just enough so to fear  
They could lose what little bits they've got

When the serfs are steeped in misery  
They find a dead horse to beat on  
Like a dog barking up the wrong tree  
That's life in the fiefdom

But we live in Canada  
And as Frank Zappa said, “it can't happen here”  
This is Canada  
Don't want a fiefdom 'round here

Watch “Fiefdom” at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N39EjDvTfEs>





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### Application for Membership Aplicación para Membresía

☐ I affirm that I am a worker and that I am not an employer. [Afirmo que soy trabajador/a y no soy empleador.]

☐ I agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization, and will study its principles and acquaint myself with its purposes. [Pacto de obedecer a la constitución y las reglas de esta organización, y estudiaré sus principios, y me informaré de sus objetivos.]

Name/Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_

Address/Dirección: \_\_\_\_\_

City/Ciudad: \_\_\_\_\_ State/Estado: \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_ Country/ País: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone/Teléfono: \_\_\_\_\_

Employer/Empleador: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation/Ocupación: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I would prefer to receive copies of the IWW's General Organization Bulletin in paper form, by mail (Default is electronic, by email). [Prefiero recibir copias del Boletín General por correo. (No sobre e-mail)]

☐ I would like information about the IWW's General Defense Committee. [Me gustaría recibir más información sobre el Comité de Defensa General.]

<b>Dues Rate Based on Monthly Income</b>	<b>Cuota Dependiente de Pago Mensual</b>
Under \$2,000 = \$11 per month	Menos que \$2,000 = \$11 por mes
\$2,000 - 3,500 = \$22 per month	\$2,000 a 3,500 = \$22 por mes
Over \$3,500 = \$33 per month	Mas que \$3,500 = \$33 por mes
Initiation fee is equal to one month's dues.	Iniciación = cuota de un mes

For more information, please go to  
<https://www.iww.org/content/join-one-big-union>

## Preamble to the IWW Constitution

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs that allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

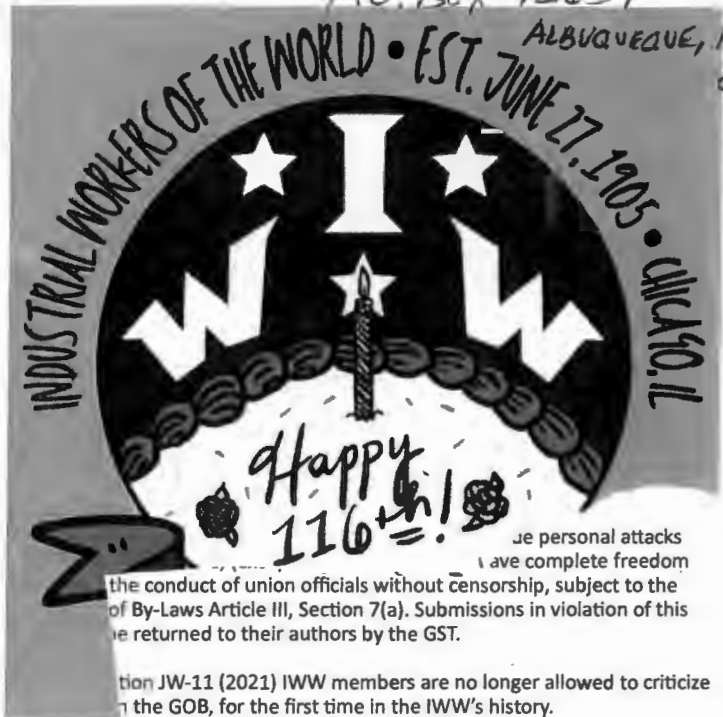
**BREAK THE TBCJ!! END PRISON SLAVERY!!!**  
OUR UNION'S INTERNAL MEMBERS-ONLY DISCUSSION



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
General Organization Bulletin (F. LOPEZ)

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87179



## General Administration Contact

### General Executive Board

Liss Waters Hyde, Chair  
New York City, NY  
[Liss@protonmail.com](mailto:Liss@protonmail.com)

Selena Caldera, Vice Chair  
Seattle, WA  
[sgtaw@icloud.com](mailto:sgtaw@icloud.com)

Alice Maule  
New York City, NY  
[x391112@protonmail.com](mailto:x391112@protonmail.com)

Kelsey Tanabe Walker  
Bolingbrook, IL  
[KATanabeWalker@gmail.com](mailto:KATanabeWalker@gmail.com)

Sabrina Cummings  
Tampa, FL  
[prole.sabs@gmail.com](mailto:prole.sabs@gmail.com)

Scarlett Gillespie  
Hamilton, ON  
[FW381766IWW@outlook.com](mailto:FW381766IWW@outlook.com)

The General Executive Board of the IWW is accessible to all members. You may write to Board members and request an explanation of their votes. You may also write to them and ask that they sponsor a motion on behalf of you, your group, or branch. Only the Board Chair's summary of motions and votes is reported in the GOB. If you would like to see a specific Board members' report, or receive a full set of all Board members' reports, please write to GHQ. GHQ may provide copies of the reports to any member of the union in good-standing who requests them at cost.

The entire GEB may be contacted at once by emailing [geb@iww.org](mailto:geb@iww.org).

### General Secretary-Treasurer

edini

7 (GHQ)

### Organizing Department

For information or support regarding organizing, e-mail: [organize@iww.org](mailto:organize@iww.org)

Maxim Baru, Co-Chair  
Cameron Crowell, Co-Chair, [cameroncrowell4@gmail.com](mailto:cameroncrowell4@gmail.com)  
Selena PB, Organizing Department Coordinator, [odc@iww.org](mailto:odc@iww.org)

### Education Department

[education@iww.org](mailto:education@iww.org)  
Chair: Marianne LeNabat [mlenabat@gmail.com](mailto:mlenabat@gmail.com)

### International Committee

Communicate with all IC members at once by e-mailing [international@iww.org](mailto:international@iww.org)

### Gender Equity Committee

To contact the gender equity committee please email us at [gec@iww.org](mailto:gec@iww.org)

### Conflict Resolution Committee on Matters of Gender

To contact the CRC please email [crc@iww.org](mailto:crc@iww.org).

### General Defense Committee

Van Jenkins - Central Secretary-Treasurer  
[gdc@iww.org](mailto:gdc@iww.org)  
[www.gdc.central@gmail.com](mailto:www.gdc.central@gmail.com)

### Communications Department

[communications@iww.org](mailto:communications@iww.org)

Maxim Baru, Communications Officer, [maxim@iww.org](mailto:maxim@iww.org)  
Arv Dilawar, Publications Coordinator, [arv@iww.org](mailto:arv@iww.org)

for, [store@iww.org](mailto:store@iww.org)  
Editor, [iw@iww.org](mailto:iw@iww.org)  
[non@iww.org](mailto:non@iww.org)

IMB.

[Q@iww.org](mailto:Q@iww.org)

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## What is a GOB?

For some of you, this is your first ever General Organization Bulletin — familiarly known to most members as the GOB. The GOB comes out a minimum of eight times a year. It is the union's internal newsletter, an open forum for members to discuss important issues throughout the union. It also serves as a window into the General Administration. Through the GOB you can follow the actions of the IWW's General Executive Board (GEB), and read our monthly (and annual) financial reports. The GOB also publishes notices from delegates and branches; news of elections, and discussion of the issues; as well as news and reflections on IWW campaigns and projects.

Remember, the GOB is our medium for union democracy — our way of making sure that all members have access to the information they need to decide IWW policy. The IWW is the only union that we know of to issue this sort of uncensored forum for its members. So, welcome to the GOB, and to the community of Wobblies!

### Rules for Submissions:

Submissions can be sent by e-mail to [ghq@iww.org](mailto:ghq@iww.org) with "For the GOB" as the subject line, or by postal mail to:

IWW General Headquarters  
Post Office Box 180195  
Chicago, IL 60618 — U.S.A.

Deadlines for the GOB are the 10th of each month, except for GOB 10 which has a deadline of September 30th. Any donations required for submission must arrive at GHQ by that GOB's deadline. Extensions may be requested if necessary and will be granted based on the workload at GHQ and printing schedule.

As per the IWW Constitution, Article III, Sec. 4(b): Any member or branch in the union in good standing is allowed 500 words and one image per bulletin. A \$5 donation to help cover costs is requested, but not required of those who can not afford it. Any submission over 500 words must include a minimum donation of \$15 per 500 words to be printed. Any submission with over one image must include a minimum donation of \$5 per image.

By long-standing IWW policy, submissions may not include personal attacks against other members, (except that members shall have complete freedom to criticize the conduct of union officials without censorship, subject to the provisions of By-Laws Article III, Section 7(a). Submissions in violation of this policy will be returned to their authors by the GST.

Per GEB Motion JW-11 (2021) IWW members are no longer allowed to criticize union staff in the GOB, for the first time in the IWW's history.

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## IWW Forum

The union is actively in the process of migrating off of our old mailing list server and onto a Discourse server, called InterWeb or the IWW Forum. Discourse is software that can behave both as a forum, and if wanted, as a traditional mailing list.

InterWeb can be accessed by visiting [forum.iww.org](http://forum.iww.org). NARA members are able to login with their Red Card ([redcard.iww.org](http://redcard.iww.org)) account, and members in either good or bad standing (but not inactive standing) can access InterWeb.

Some brief verbiage to keep in mind: The equivalent to lists on the forum is a Category, sometimes also called a Section. A new post in a category is a Topic. A reply or comment on a Topic is simply called a Reply. Users can like Topics or Replies with the heart-shaped button that appears under either, and if a user feels a post violates the Safe Space Policy ([www.org/safe-space](http://www.org/safe-space)) or forum Community Guidelines, a user can flag a post for moderator action (you may have to touch the flag option by clicking the ellipsis (...) under either a Topic or Reply).

When a user first logs onto the forum on a computer, on the left they will see a breakdown of various public (and private, if one is a member) Categories and Subcategories. On the right, they will see the latest activity from across the union. On mobile, a user will see the Category breakdown and recent posts from each. Users can customize this layout and many more settings, such as enabling dark mode, their Preferences.

InterWeb is moderated by a team of volunteers from both NARA and WISE-RA. InterWeb is likewise an inter-regional communications space for the union, an official hub for discourse not just within our branches or in North America, but across the international union.

In addition to using InterWeb on the web or as a mailing list, members can use the Discourse Hub app for both iOS and Android to access the forum.

Administrators from both NARA's IWW.org Administration Committee (IAC) and WISE-RA IT are working on introductory material to support the expected influx of new activity from NARA members, as well as exploring how we can better improve administration of the platform, as well as adding

new, useful features for members. The moderation team is exploring ways for sustaining healthy and useful communication on InterWeb.

Being that we have to and support our existing mailing list infrastructure, at the end of January, the IAC reached out to nearly 350 Red Card administrators from 294 lists (the vast majority of which are assumed to be long inactive), asking them to submit an opt-in form by February 12. We received 27 opt-in responses, 18 of which asked to have their list histories migrated onto the forum.

Our next steps are to wrangle some tech volunteers to support the migration and schedule a weekend to focus on it, as well as creating forum categories for lists that did not opt for a full migration. We are deciding from three potential weekends in February and March to migrate these 18 lists in bulk: February 27-28, March 6-7, and March 13-14. If we encounter any errors, we will likely have to find an alternative weekend to address the migration of lists with issues. In the interim we will focus on the 9 lists that did not opt for full migrations. Soon after those migrations are complete, we will be deprecating support for the old mailing list server.

All existing lists will be archived by the IAC, but, for various reasons, we do not yet have plans on making these broadly accessible to the entire membership. We will be in communication with the General Executive Board about how to best approach management of old list archives.

Please reach out to us at [tech@iww.org](mailto:tech@iww.org) if you have any questions or would like to volunteer with our work. If you have membership issues and aren't able to access InterWeb due to your standing, please contact our Membership Coordinator at [membership@iww.org](mailto:membership@iww.org).

Facebook:  
"Industrial Workers of the World - General Headquarters" is the only Official IWW Facebook entity.

### Note on Financial Reports for Fiscal Year 2020-2021

This is a note that all Budget Vs. Actual Financial Reports will be generated with Budget column totals for—not the entire fiscal year period—but only the time period which has passed in the report.

Therefore, if the July report shows 4100 Dues \$12,231.00 which is the total for the period July 1 through July 31, and to get the budget total for the year, one would multiply  $x 12 = \$146,772$ .

This is the way our accounting software generates the B v A reports and it is much easier to produce this report than having to change the budget column to the yearly totals (which leaves room for errors), and some members of the Finance Committee suggest that it is a clearer way of reporting the financial reports.

If the GOB #11 report shows 4100 Dues \$55,108.51 which is the total for the period July 1 through October 31, and to get the budget total for the year, one would multiply  $\$48,924.00 \times 3 = \$146,772$ , and so on.

If you have any questions about the financial reports or related matters, do not hesitate to contact the members of the Finance Committee at [finance@iww.org](mailto:finance@iww.org) or GHQ.

## Rights of Union Members

Bill of Rights - Union members have:

- equal rights to participate in union activities
- freedom of speech and assembly
- voice in setting rates of dues, fees, and assessments
- protection of the right to sue
- safeguards against improper discipline

Copies of Collective Bargaining Agreements - Union members and nonunion employees have the right to receive or inspect copies of collective bargaining agreements.

Reports - Unions are required to file an initial information report (Form LM-1), copies of constitutions and bylaws, and an annual financial report (Form LM-2/3/4) with OLMS. Unions must make the reports available to members and permit members to examine supporting records for just cause. The reports are public information and copies are available from OLMS.

Officer Elections - Union members have the right to:

- nominate candidates for office
- run for office
- cast a secret ballot
- protest the conduct of an election

Officer Removal - Local union members have the right to an adequate procedure for the removal of an elected officer guilty of serious misconduct.

Trusteeships - Unions may only be placed in trusteeship by a parent body for the reasons specified in the LMRDA.

Protection for Exercising LMRDA Rights - A union or any of its officials may not fine, expel, or otherwise discipline a member for exercising any LMRDA right.

Prohibition Against Violence - No one may use or threaten to use force or violence to interfere with a union member in the exercise of LMRDA rights.

## REPORTS

### GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIR REPORT - FW Liss Waters Hyde

Date: June 10, 2021  
Chair: Liss Waters Hyde  
Vice Chair: Selena Caldera  
Executive Board Officers: Scarlett Gillespie, Sabrina Cummings, Kelsey Walker, Alice Maule

Objective: Per our union's constitution, it is the mandate of the General Executive Board to supervise all affairs of the North American Regional Administration of the Industrial Workers of the World between conventions, and watch vigilantly over our union members' interests throughout our jurisdiction.

#### Chair's Summary

In June, the Board held our regularly scheduled Biweekly Business Meetings on June 14 and June 28. Our meeting on June 14 included 14 guests in addition to our General Executive Board members and the General Secretary-Treasurer. In that meeting, we were able to:

- Appoint Kait Murphy and Samiha Akther to the Social Media Committee for the remainder of the 2021 term.
- Reallocate \$6,000 toward Organizer Training 101 translation expenses.
- Amend the General Secretary-Treasurer's salary to be in line with the union's highest achieved collective bargaining agreement, which comes from the Amherst Industrial Union Branch 650's recent contract negotiations for UAW staffers.
- Appoint Fellow Worker Kali to represent the IWW in the International Confederation of Labor's Asia Working Group.
- Charter the New River Valley General Membership Branch.
- Hire Fellow Worker Simon Cook for the Web Director position.
- Strike a complaints committee to hear three sets of charges against officers.
- Review and amend the draft budget for fiscal year 2021/2022.

The meeting minutes for June 14, 2021 are available at:

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1bRlcsC-x-jBjJcqv72trQVupudxRtMUpPi\\_PxEnFV/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1bRlcsC-x-jBjJcqv72trQVupudxRtMUpPi_PxEnFV/edit)

Our meeting on June 28 included 13 guests in addition to our General Executive Board members and the General Secretary-Treasurer. In that meeting, we were able to:

- Extend the COVID-19 dues waiver through July 2021.
- Appoint Fellow Workers Phil B and Isaac D. to the unemployed workers organizing program advisory council.
- Shift responsibility for the union's mass email communication to the IWW's Communications Officer, in line with

- the resolution that passed during the last referendum, establishing the Communications Officer position and the Communications Department.
- increase the General Secretary-Treasurers benefits to be more in line with the union's highest achieved collective bargaining agreement, which comes from the Amherst Industrial Union Branch 650's recent contract negotiations for UAW staffers.
- Accept staff contracts for the Organizing Department Coordinator, Communications Officer, Publications Committee Chair, and Web Director.
- Accept the complaints committee reports for Walker v. Caldera 1 and Walker v. Waters Hyde 1.
- Amend and finalize the budget for fiscal year 2021/2022.

The meeting minutes for June 28, 2021 are available at:  
<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1OIHCO4DNTEx8JgEMKHG5IFaVCSayvAdjI78IolCjC/edit>

In addition to our regularly scheduled General Executive Board biweekly business meetings, the board had two emergency meetings, both of which have minutes available:  
 On June 13th, the General Executive Board met with two IWW staffers regarding staff grievances against the union regarding a hostile work environment, slander/libel. The minutes from this meeting can be viewed at: <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1O2ob0phtaZW6hYb9uYvQfNORZVfVQpDQpHQt1vw/edit?ts=60c4e009>  
 This meeting resulted in the suspension of the Industrial Worker Editor in Chief from office for 90 days while the GEB conducts an investigation into allegations of harassment of staff.  
 Additionally, the GEB directed the General Secretary-Treasurer not to publish criticism of staff members in their capacity as staffers in the General Organizing Bulletin.  
 One June 30, the General Administration (the General Executive Board and the General Secretary-Treasurer) met to discuss the submission of a member petition that gathered signatures using Google Forms. The minutes from this meeting can be viewed at: <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Nq4HGCPzS28hPlg4YfWPWFUQKMGVNCmI8:stlv3o/edit?ts=60dd1bc6>

#### An update on the recall petition received by the General Administration:

The General Administration received a recall petition on 6/28 from two FWh. A sufficiency challenge was made by two affected members for the signatures, based both on number of signatures and on the fact that the documents submitted appeared to have been altered by the petition authors rather than being a straight export. Legal advice was sought on how to handle this situation, as the Constitution doesn't provide a process and it was a time sensitive situation. What was provided by the lawyers re this challenge was as follows:

*The IWW Constitution and Bylaws do not appear to address the issue of how an officer subject to a recall referendum may challenge the legitimacy of that referendum. However, in nearly every area of election law requiring a set number of signatures, it is established by law or practice that a person whose rights are impacted may challenge the legitimacy of the signatures or their number or that the recall should otherwise be certified. See, e.g., Comm. to Recall Robert Menendez From the Office of U.S. Senator v. Wells, 204 N.J. 79, 2 A.3d 720 (2010) and McDonald v. Cook Cty. Officers' Electoral Bd., 2018 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 42503.*

*Here, a challenge has been filed and due process (along with ensuring that the process has legitimacy) would be met by allowing a challenge to timely be heard. And because the IWW Constitution and Bylaws are silent, the GEB should act to fill this gap, in my opinion.*

*Furthermore, it appears that the matter of how to handle challenges has been previously addressed at the GEB Board Meeting in January 2021, with the result being that the GST will email the persons who signed the referendum and ask, "Did you sign this petition." Based on this gap, and the past practice, I recommend that the same process be used here.*

*My review of the documents provided does not indicate exactly how the verification process worked, but I recommend the following process: that the GST, upon a challenge, email each of the persons who signed the referendum and ask for confirmation that they signed the referendum, and that they have five business days to respond. On the day following the fifth business day, the GST should provide a certification along with accompanying documentation to the GEB certifying whether the confirmed number of signatures required is met, with the GEB then acting in a ministerial capacity to accept or reject the referendum based solely on whether there are sufficient signatures under the IWW Constitution and Bylaws.*

The issue of how timing and receipt should be addressed in this situation was also addressed:

*My analysis of this issue is grounded in interpreting Art. IX, Sec's. 2 and 3 of the IWW Constitution, regarding Referenda.*

*Generally, a referendum may be called by the GEB or by petition of five percent of the membership who are not in bad standing. "Properly submitted referendum items" are to be voted on, with notification of such items provided to the members 30 days in advance of the ballot. That notice shall also provide the deadline for submitting points of discussion on the referendum to the GEB. Ballots shall be open for voting for between 30 and 45 days.*

*Under Sec. 3, which is specific to recalls, there are two relevant points in addition to the general rules in Sec. 2. First, the ballot must be issued within 30 days. Second, the General Administration is tasked with administering the recall.*

*Because Sec. 2 references "properly submitted referendum items," it is my opinion that the timelines in Sec. 2*

*and Sec. 3 do not begin to run until the process for the GST to certify a referendum in response to any challenge is completed. Because Sec. 3 has a three-day notification requirement, it is my opinion that any challenge to the legitimacy of a recall referendum must be made within that three-day period.*

*Because Sec. 3 generally tasks the "General Administration," with implementing the recall, it is my opinion that the GEB and not the GST has the authority to oversee the referendum in terms of setting dates and providing notice, provided, that as Sec. 3 incorporates Sec. 2, the specific ballot procedures of Sec. 2 will apply. This is bolstered by the specific provision that "Officers shall continue in office during the recall referendum."*

*As to timing, the GEB should "notify all chartered Administrations and Branches" within three days of either: (1) receiving notice of a recall petition without any challenge or (2) the resolution of the challenge and accompanying certification by the GST. The ballots should be issued within 30 days of that notice and should have a 30-45-day voting window per Sec. 2. Consistent with Sec. 2(b), the notice should also provide a deadline for submitting discussion for publication in the GEB.*

Challenges were received within the three day period; accordingly, the General Administration as a whole is following the legal advice and the process of verification. The GST pointed out that as the Communications Officer is tasked with communications, that the verification emails should go through them, and additionally, the GST felt that the Communications Officer should handle the entire process of verification and documentation. While I personally feel it would be fine for the Communications Officer to send out the emails and for the GST to process them, it is several hours of work and as the Communications Officer is now a full time paid staffer, and it is not a holiday weekend in their country, it is reasonable to ask them to do that work. Per updates we have received from that staffer, they have finished making the tags in the database and emails should be going out shortly: as the 5th is 4th of July (observed) it will not count as a business day, and members will have until the 12th to respond to the emails. Documentation from that staffer will be provided to the GST, who will provide certification based on the number of verified signatures by the next day, which will be presented to the GEB to vote to confirm within three days based solely on the amount of verified signatures.

Additionally: a meeting with all members of the General Administration present was held after a request from a member of the GA to resolve things via voice rather than in a lengthy email thread. Minutes were taken and will be provided to the membership as soon as they are reviewed by all members and approved. The gist was:

- The GEB will be later in the month for the month of July, to accommodate a special supplemental GEB insert concerning the recall. Material for the 'normal' GEB will still be due on the 10th, as usual; material for the supplemental GEB will be due by the 20th, in order to accommodate the GST's scheduled vacation (Jul 22-29).
- Balloting for recall referendums will be similar to the normal referendum process and will be through SimplyVoting. A mail notification will go out to the last known physical address for IWW members in advance of the ballot (required by law), and balloting will last for 45 days.
- Due to the short notice, members will be able to get into good standing to receive a ballot up until the date the ballots go out. After that point they will have to contact GHQ specifically to receive a ballot.

On the resignation of General Executive Board member Jacki West:

On July 2, 2021, General Executive Board member Jacki West submitted the following resignation letter.

*Please consider this my formal resignation from the GEB. This is not an admission of guilt, but rather the result of the targeted abuse and harassment I have endured over the last six months. I believe that the decisions that we've made have been the best possible decisions for this union, given the sheer number of unprecedented issues this GEB has run into. I do think that we need to change the culture within this union if we are ever going to have a fighting chance of ending capitalism, but this will have to be done by someone else.*

Per the IWW Constitution, the open position goes to the next runner up from the last election, which will be offered to Fern Rees.

As the General Executive Board Chair, I have watched the members of this historic all-woman board be continually harassed, bullied, and in some cases cyberstalked, and dehumanized on a near-daily basis for the last six months. I want to take this opportunity to remind our union's members that the people volunteering to serve on the General Executive Board, or any other officer or staff position in the union, are human beings that deserve, at minimum, basic dignity and respect. This shouldn't be something that folks need to beg for. We have all taken on this responsibility and workload because of our belief in and passion for creating a better future, and our willingness to work collectively to make that future a reality.

A full list of the motions considered by the 2021 General Executive Board is available here:

[https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1pfu4MWhYoaEp9v7b4USFQuRP\\_fa\\_UkFbJWxR4Px8X/edit#gid=0](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1pfu4MWhYoaEp9v7b4USFQuRP_fa_UkFbJWxR4Px8X/edit#gid=0)

Motions since the last GEB report (June 10, 2021):

JW-11

Move that we direct the GST not to publish criticism of staff members in their capacity as staffers in the General Organizing Bulletin.

Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett

Abstaining: Kelsey

SG-07

Motion to suspend Brad Walker for 90 days from the IW EIC position while the GEB conducts an investigation into the allegations of harassment coming from staff.  
 Voting yes: Scarlett, Alice, Liss, Jacki, Sabrina  
 Abstaining: Kelsey, Selena

LWH-33

WHEREAS the Communications Department Board has solicited volunteers for the Social Media Committee and is recommending the appointment of Fellow Workers Kait Murphy and Samiha Akther, and  
 WHEREAS both fellow workers are members in good standing.  
 THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, the GEB appoints Kait Murphy and Samiha Akther to the Social Media Committee for the remainder of the 2021 term.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey

JW-SDC-01

WHEREAS the OTC is in the process of formatting translated OT101 manuals and translating the online OT101 powerpoint;  
 WHEREAS due to the pandemic, there are a significant amount of funds in the 54121 OT101 Trainings budget line, with not nearly enough money in the 54124 Translations budget line to pay for all the translation work that's needed;  
 BE IT RESOLVED that the OTC ask the GEB to move \$6,000 from the 54121 OT101 Trainings budget line to the 54124 Translations budget line for the 2020-2021 fiscal year.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey

LWH-34

Motion to amend GST salary to \$57,600 per year beginning July 1, 2021, in line with the IWW's highest collective bargaining agreement (Amherst 650).  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey

AM-08

WHEREAS FW Kali P. has expressed interest in joining the Asia Working Group of the International Confederation of Labor (ICL); and  
 WHEREAS FW Kali is currently serving as a representative of NARA-IWW on the International Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines (ICHRP); and  
 WHEREAS the International Committee has selected FW Kali to be a NARA-IWW representative on the ICL's Asia Working Group, as per motion (IC IC-03 (2021)); and  
 WHEREAS the GEB must vote to approve the appointment of representatives when the union participates in international organizations;  
 THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB votes to approve the appointment of FW Kali as a NARA-IWW representative to the ICL's Asia Working Group.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey

AM-09

WHEREAS Fellow Workers in New River Valley, VA, submitted their application to charter a General Membership Branch on April 3rd, 2021, and  
 WHEREAS the General Membership Branch Charter Application and all supporting documents meet the requirements as set out in Article XI, Sections 1-3 of the IWW NARA Constitution,  
 THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the General Executive Board shall charter the New River Valley General Membership Branch, and  
 BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the General Secretary-Treasurer is directed to issue a charter document and branch seal to the New River Valley General Membership Branch.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey

LWH-35

WHEREAS the Communications Department Board and IAC Chair conducted interviews for the Web Manager position as directed by the GEB, and  
 WHEREAS the CDB and IAC chair have recommended that the GEB hire FW Simon Cook for the position, and  
 WHEREAS Simon is a member in good standing,  
 BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB hires Simon Cook as the Web Manager, starting July 1, 2021.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett  
 Abstaining: Kelsey

LWH-36

Motion to strike charges committee for Walker v. Gillespie consisting of Sabrina, Alice and Jacki.  
 Voting yes: Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina, Selena  
 Abstaining: Scarlett, Kelsey

LWH-37

Motion to strike charges committee for Walker v. Caldera #2 consisting of Sabrina, Alice and Jacki.  
 Voting yes: Jacki, Liss, Alice, Sabrina

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Abstaining: Scarlett, Kelsey, Selena

LWH-38

Motion to strike charges committee for Walker v. Hyde #2 consisting of Sabrina, Alice and Jacki.  
 Voting yes: Jacki, Selena, Alice, Sabrina  
 Abstaining: Scarlett, Kelsey, Liss

JW-12

WHEREAS the dues waiver has been extended through June 2021; and  
 WHEREAS some fellow workers may not be aware that the dues waiver is ending:  
 THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the dues waiver is extended through July 2021; and  
 BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the GST will publish in the July GOB that the dues waiver will end after July 2021.  
 Voting yes: Jacki, Selena, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey, Liss

LWH-39

WHEREAS the 2020 convention mandated the ODB to establish a salting program with an advisory council, and  
 WHEREAS the ODB circulated a vacancy announcement in April 2021, and  
 WHEREAS the ODB received two applicants that they reviewed and have been working with to develop the field team and salting program, and  
 WHEREAS the ODB recommends the appointment of Phil B. and Isaac D. to the unemployed workers organizing program advisory council (MB-18 2021), and both Fellow Workers are members in good standing,  
 BE IT RESOLVED the GEB appoints Phil B. and Isaac D. to the unemployed workers organizing program advisory council.  
 Voting yes: Jacki, Selena, Alice, Sabrina, Scarlett, Kelsey, Liss

LWH-40

Motion that all mass email communication be sent via the Communications Officer effective immediately.  
 Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Liss, Sabrina  
 Voting no: Kelsey

LWH-41

Motion to amend MPP 2-1e at the request of the GST.

E. Benefits

~~The General Executive Board and the General Secretary-Treasurer shall negotiate the allocation of funds to be used to provide the GST and their family with health insurance. This monthly amount will not be changed by the GEB during the course of the GST's employment.~~

The GST is entitled to all rights of unpaid time off from work that falls under the labor law of the country where the GST and GHQ reside. In the US these include but are not limited to: FMLA and military leave of absence, leave of work includes; but is not limited to: jury duty, 2 hours time off to vote, witness leave and up to 3 days of paid bereavement.

Holidays and days off include New Year's Day, May Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day (July 4), Thanksgiving (either Canadian or US) and Christmas Day, plus 2 floating holidays taken at the discretion of the GST. The GST is also entitled to 10 vacation days; taken at his or her leisure provided he or she give at least 5 days written notice to the GEB and provided that the days off do not conflict with the General Convention. The GST is also entitled to 5 sick days; if a recognized holiday falls during the GST's leave of absence (vacation days or sick leave) or during the General Convention, the GST may take an additional day off. Sick days and vacation days will be prorated to GHQ staff based on hours worked per month; and this prorated amount of sick time and paid time off will be calculated by the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Overtime

The GST may compensate for time worked in excess of 40 hours per week during a later work week.

Salary

The starting salary for the GST position will be \$62,9201 annually. The Union will re-evaluate this salary on a yearly basis during the budgetary process, and should, when possible and reasonable, base the salary on the Union membership's highest IWW collective bargaining agreement.

In years when there is no increase in salary based on gains in member contracts, the Union agrees to increase the pay rate annually by 2.5%.

Additionally, the GST will receive a cost of living allowance (COLA) each year based on the average monthly consumer price index (CPI-All Items) of (Chicago-Naperville-Elgin CPI + National CPI)/2 for the previous 12 months each calendar year. The floor of this adjustment is 0%.

Paid Holidays

The GST will be entitled to all Federal holidays, state/provincial holidays, May Day (May 1st), and two (2) floating holidays.

If any holiday falls on a weekend, the GST will receive the weekday before or after for observance of said holiday. If the GST works on a holiday, the GST will be granted a floating holiday to be used at a later date the same year.

Additionally, the IWW will also be closed from December 24th through January 1st. If January 1st falls on a Sunday, the shutdown shall extend to January 2. If an Employee works during shutdown (with permission of management), they will receive comp time to be used within two (2) weeks.

Vacation

Because the GST is an elected position, the GST's vacation year is based on the calendar year. The annual paid vacation entitlement is 20 days. The GST shall inform the Union of planned vacation time in writing two weeks or

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more in advance of the requested leave. Unused vacation time will not be paid out at the end of the year. Up to 20 days of vacation leave that is not taken within the fiscal year can be rolled over to the following fiscal year.

**Sickness & Personal Leave**  
Because the GST is an elected position, the GST's sickness and personal leave year is based on the calendar year. The annual paid sickness & personal entitlement is 25 days per year. Unused sickness and personal leave time will not be paid out at the end of the year. Up to 5 days of sick or personal leave that is not taken within the fiscal year can be rolled over to the following fiscal year.

#### Jury Duty

The GST will be excused from work for jury duty, and paid their regular salary, for up to thirty (30) days. If an Employee is paid by the court, they will have their paycheck reduced by that amount.

#### Parental Leave

The GST shall be provided twelve (12) weeks of paid parental leave for the birth, adoption, or impending adoption of a child. The 12 week period can begin at the GST's discretion. Parental leave requires 1 month notice to the GEB, when possible. The GST may request further leave and use paid vacation, sick leave, emergency sick leave, or unpaid leave for additional leave time.

#### Internet and technology reimbursement

The IWW will provide the GST with a reimbursement of \$100 USD per month to cover incidental office and technology expenses arising from remote working. This shall be made retroactive to April 2020.

#### Cell phone reimbursement

The IWW will provide the GST with a cell phone reimbursement of up to \$100 USD per month.

#### Healthcare

The IWW is committed to reimbursing as much of the full premium cost of a comprehensive health insurance plan as allowed by law, with the aim of moving towards a ICHRA that offers full premium reimbursement. This shall include individual and family plans. Family plans shall include the domestic partner of the Employee.

#### Dental

The Employer will reimburse 100% of the premium cost for dental insurance.

#### Childcare

The GST will be reimbursed up to \$700/month for care of the GST's children. This will apply to any GST who has childcare responsibilities as a guardian or custodial parent of any child who needs care.

#### Final paycheck

A GST who serves their full term from January 1 to December 31 will have his or her final paycheck include payment for any unused vacation days, not including unused floating holidays. If the GST's term ends before December 31, their final paycheck will not include payment for any unused vacation days.

For questions about his or her benefits, the GST should contact the GEB Chair.

Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Liss, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey

#### SG-08

WHEREAS Maxim Baru's current contract for the Communications Officer role ends on June 30, 2021, and WHEREAS Maxim has negotiated a new staff contract with the General Executive Board, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB accepts Maxim Baru's employment contract for the Communications Officer role, instructing the GEB Chair to execute the contract.

Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice

Abstaining: Kelsey, Liss, Sabrina

#### SG-09

WHEREAS the GEB already voted to hire FW Arv as Publications Committee Chair for July 1st, 2021, and WHEREAS the previously budgeted amount for the position failed to include staff benefits, and WHEREAS Arv has negotiated a new staff contract with the General Executive Board, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB accepts Arv's employment contract for the Publications Committee Chair role, instructing the GEB Chair to execute the contract.

Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey, Liss

#### SG-10

WHEREAS the GEB already voted to hire FW Simon as Web Manager for July 1st, 2021, and WHEREAS the previously budgeted amount for the position failed to include staff benefits, and WHEREAS Simon has negotiated a new staff contract with the General Executive Board, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB accepts Simon's employment contract for the Web Manager role, instructing the GEB Chair to execute the contract.

Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey, Liss

#### SDC-15

WHEREAS Selena PB's current contract for the Organizing Department Coordinator role ends on June 30, 2021, and

WHEREAS Selena PB has negotiated a new staff contract with the Organizing Department Board, which was approved by motion KM-02 (2021), on 6/26/2021 and been submitted to the General Executive Board for approval,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the GEB accepts Selena PB's employment contract for the Organizing Department Coordinator role, instructing the GEB Chair to execute the contract.

Voting yes: Selena, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey, Liss

#### AM-10

Motion to accept the complaint's committee report for Walker v. Caldera J.

Voting yes: Alice, Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey, Selena, Liss

#### AM-11

Motion to accept the complaint's committee report for Walker v. Waters Hyde J.

Voting yes: Scarlett, Jacki, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Liss, Kelsey, Selena

#### SEC-10

Motion to pass the FY 21/22 budget.

Voting yes: Scarlett, Jacki, Selena, Alice, Sabrina

Abstaining: Kelsey, Liss

#### Q&A Regarding the Activity of the General Executive Board

Q: Where does the General Executive Board make formal decisions on board business?

A: The General Executive Board makes decisions and votes on board member motions during the board's meetings. On rare occasions, for motions that are time sensitive or of an emergency nature that need to be resolved in between board meetings, the board votes on the union forum, interweb. General Executive Board motions are not passed outside of meetings and/or interweb.

Q: When are the General Executive Board's business meetings?

A: The General Executive Board holds business meetings on the 2nd Monday and 4th Monday of each month at 6:30 PM Eastern.

The board also holds a series of Winter Meeting planning sessions annually in February, and Summer Meeting sessions annually in the days leading up to the union's Convention.

Additionally, the board holds meetings regularly between March 15th and June 30th each year to discuss the union's budget.

The time and date of the Winter and Summer Meetings and the Budget meetings are announced in advance.

The General Executive Board Chair may call additional meetings as needed throughout the year.

Q: Can I attend the General Executive Board's meetings?

A: All members in good standing are permitted to attend the regularly scheduled business meetings, including the Summer and Winter Meetings.

Q: Where can I find the agenda for a General Executive Board meeting?

A: [https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x\\_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing).

Q: Where can I find the meeting minutes for a General Executive Board meeting?

A: Meeting minutes -- which are notes highlighting key points from the meeting such as who was present, what motions were proposed, votes, and action items -- are hosted in the same Google Document containing the agenda for each meeting: [https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x\\_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing).

Q: When and where does the General Executive Board report to the membership?

A: In addition to the board's meeting minutes, which are available to members in real-time, the General Executive Board has the following reporting schedule:

• General Executive Board members file a monthly report of their activity. These reports may be requested by emailing [ghq@iww.org](mailto:ghq@iww.org). They are also available on the General Executive Board's public facing Google drive: [https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x\\_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1JzsnTo5fexvax827x_q6MssySOZ84d?usp=sharing).

• The General Executive Board Chair files a monthly report of the board's activity. These reports are printed in the monthly General Organizing Bulletin that is sent out by email to all members in good standing. They

are also available on the General Executive Board's public facing Google drive: [https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1R2zsn17p5f0vax827x\\_o6Mxy50Z84d7usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1R2zsn17p5f0vax827x_o6Mxy50Z84d7usp=sharing).

The General Executive Board Chair files a report to the union's annual Convention and presents the report at the Convention. This report will be available in the Convention packet and will be printed in the General Organizing Bulletin.

Q: Where can I find the working rules for the General Executive Board?

A: The working rules for the General Executive Board are located in the Manual of Policies and Procedures (MPP), which is retrievable at [www.org/resources](http://www.org/resources).

Q: Where can I see how each General Executive Board member voted on a particular motion?

A: Board motions are included in the monthly report submitted by the General Executive Board Chair, which is published in the General Organizing Bulletin.

Q: I used to be subscribed to the General Executive Board's list serv in previous years and there was a constant flow of board business. Why am I not seeing discussion on board motions in between board meetings anymore?

A: The board only makes motions that are time sensitive or of an emergency nature in between regularly scheduled board meetings — It is rare that the board needs to move anything in between meetings.

Q: I left a comment on Interweb and no one from the 2021 General Executive Board has responded.

A: Due to the high volume of time-sensitive work placed on our volunteer Board, members who would like to talk about a particular issue are requested to schedule an appointment by email at [geb@iww.org](mailto:geb@iww.org).

Q: I am trying to access a file linked in the 2021 General Executive Board's agenda/meeting minutes, but it says I don't have access to the document.

A: For privacy reasons, the General Executive Board does not make public unredacted documents that contain the personal information of members or staff, or that contain sensitive data about the union's labor organizing campaigns. Occasionally, the board links these types of documents in the agenda/meeting minutes, but access to these documents is limited to the General Executive Board.

If you believe that the document you're seeking does not fall under this category and is inaccessible in error, please email [gebchair@iww.org](mailto:gebchair@iww.org).

If you are requesting information about a motion, please email [geb@iww.org](mailto:geb@iww.org), so that the General Executive Board member who is making the motion can respond to your request.

Q: I have a question about a policy of the union, where can I send my question?

A: Please direct your question to [geb@iww.org](mailto:geb@iww.org).

Q: I want to request time to speak at a General Executive Board meeting, where can I send my request?

A: Please direct your request to [gebchair@iww.org](mailto:gebchair@iww.org).

Q: Is it true that this year's General Executive Board created two paid positions within the Communications Department — the Communications Officer and the Publications Committee Chair?

A: No. These positions were created in a resolution drafted by the New York City General Membership Branch in 2020, which was submitted to the 2020 Convention, then sent to the membership to vote on in the 2020 referendum. The membership voted to create two paid positions to be hired by the General Executive Board. The General Executive Board fulfilled that mandate by hiring a part-time Communications Officer under contract from March 1, 2021 until June 30, 2021, and a part-time Publication Committee Chair under contract from March 1, 2021 until June 30, 2021. These two positions are paid at an hourly rate of \$22.12 USD, in parity with the pay rate of other IWW staff members.

Q: Is it true that the General Executive Board hired an External Organizing Director?

A: No, the Organizing Department Board hired an External Organizing Director. In late January, the General Executive Board authorized the Organizing Department Board to hire a member from the Organizing Department Board for a part-time position approved in 2020: the External Organizing Director, at 10 hours per week, at a rate in parity with the pay rate of other IWW staff members (approximately \$21.72 USD per hour).

The funding for this position came from a pre-existing line item from the budget that was approved in 2020. The General Executive Board did not select the individual candidate — the Organizing Department Board was instructed to vote on the candidate amongst themselves, with the candidate abstaining from voting on the relevant motion. The contract for the position runs through June 30, 2021, which is the end of the fiscal year.

Q: What was the process used by the General Executive Board to hire the Communications Officer and Publications Committee Chair?

In mid-January, the General Executive Board reviewed and accepted proposed job descriptions for the

Communications Officer and Publications Committee Chair.

The board struck a Compensation Committee, consisting of three General Executive Board members, to evaluate and recommend at what rate the union should pay the two positions.

The Compensation Committee recommended both part-time positions be paid in parity with the rest of the IWW's staff at a rate of \$22.12 USD per hour, with the contract for the position running from March 1, 2021 through June 30, 2021.

The board accepted the Compensation Committee's recommendations and struck a new committee consisting of three General Executive Board members who had not served on the Compensation Committee — the Hiring Committee.

On January 25th, 2021, the job descriptions and links to the job applications were posted to the IWW forum, Interweb and the union began accepting applications through the application form hosted on [www.org](http://www.org).

On January 27th, 2021, the job descriptions and links to the job applications were emailed by the General Secretary-Treasurer to all members in good standing.

Between January 25th and February 16th, the Hiring Committee reviewed applications, candidate resumes and writing samples, and scheduled interviews with each qualified candidate.

On February 16th, the Hiring Committee recommended highly qualified candidates for the Communications Officer and Publications Committee Chair roles. The committee's recommendations were accepted by the General Executive Board.

The two candidates were offered temporary part-time contracts running from March 1, 2021 through June 30, 2021.

Q: Is it true that General Executive Board members only had access to information from the hiring committee 15 minutes prior to the vote to hire candidates for the Communications Department positions?

A: No. The General Executive Board had access to all applicant information and hiring committee reports in real-time beginning January 25th, meaning board members had the opportunity to view applicant submissions at any time in preparation for the vote.

Q: Has the General Executive Board hired any other paid positions?

A: No. The General Executive Board has not passed any motion at this time to hire other paid positions within the union. The board will, however, discuss whether or not to hire a part-time web manager, per the IAC's request, and will discuss whether or not to hire a part-time or full-time coordinator for the General Executive Board during our budgetary meetings. Again, the General Executive Board has not moved to create either role, and these are upcoming agenda items for the board to discuss.

Q: Has the General Executive Board dismissed the petition submitted in 2020 containing a referendum question related to 2020's Amendment 9?

A: No. The petition question is scheduled to be included in the next referendum, which will occur in October 2021. This was scheduled in accordance with the Constitutional language regarding member petitions, and with the consent of the petition maker. The Constitutional language reads as follows:

Article IX, Referenda, Sec. 2 (b) "All properly submitted referendum items shall be included on a ballot to be issued each year no later than October 15."

The GEB requested that the General Secretary-Treasurer confirm the standing of the members that signed the petition, per Article VI, Resolutions, Sec. 9 (e) "The General Secretary shall verify the standing of all members signing a referendum petition, or may request the GEB chair do so."

Per the Constitution, only officer recalls trigger an immediate referendum. Other referendum items go on the next scheduled referendum, which occurs following the Convention.

Q: Is it true that there will not be an International Convention in 2021?

A: The General Executive Board is actively in discussion with the Wales, Ireland, Scotland and England Regional Administration (WISERA) regarding the scheduling of the International Convention.

Q: Did the General Executive Board create new roles for liaisons to departments/branches of the union?

A: No. The General Executive Board affirmed in writing the pre-existing roles of liaisons after being asked for clarification about the scope of the liaison role by two officers. These roles existed prior to 2021 and have not changed. They are not new roles, nor are the duties related to those roles different than in prior years.

Q. Did the General Executive Board give liaisons the power to make decisions on organizational questions without a majority vote of the board?

A. No. The General Executive Board liaisons are empowered to provide strategic guidance and instruction to their assigned boards, committees, branches, staff, and contractors on behalf of the board based on the liaison's interpretation of the IWW Constitution, Manual of Policy and Procedures, applicable local/national laws, and motions/resolutions passed by referendum, convention, or the General Executive Board. Such guidance does not include budgetary approvals or officer appointments, which require a majority vote of the General Executive Board. If there is any question of the board's interpretation of the Constitution, Manual of Policy and Procedures, applicable local/national laws, and motions/resolutions passed by referendum, convention, or the General Executive Board, the liaison or the applicable union body may raise the question to the General Executive Board for review.

Examples of types instructions provided by liaisons/GEB chair(s) include but are not limited to:

- Liaison or GEB chair(s) instructs a branch to file an IRS 990 form or LM form, ensuring the branch is not putting the union at risk by failing to be in legal compliance.
- Liaison or GEB chair(s) instructs a body of the IWW explicitly not to do something that is not in compliance with the law or IWW Constitution, reducing legal risk to the union.
- Liaison or GEB chair(s) instructs an IWW staff member under their jurisdiction to perform a job task within their assigned job duties, allowing the work to move forward.
- Liaison or GEB chair(s) instructs a vendor/contractor on work that is already budgeted for, allowing the work to move forward.
- Liaison or GEB chair(s) provides instructions to staff, officers or other volunteers regarding the content and distribution of union communications, such as union press releases, statements, website updates, mass emails to union members, and publications, to ensure the communications are timely and in alignment with the IWW's Constitution, MPP, local laws, and communications strategy.
- Liaison or GEB chair(s) intervening in NARA board/committee conflicts to provide a course of action to keep the department/board/committee functioning properly and effectively for the benefit of the union's membership.

Q. Does the General Executive Board hold "secret" meetings?

A. No, all decision-making occurs during the General Executive Board's official meetings. Meeting minutes for all General Executive Board meetings are available to union members in good standing. The board has never held a meeting with a quorum (4 GEB members) present that wasn't an official meeting with minutes provided.

Q. Is the GEB moderating the IWW's forum, Interweb?

A. No, Interweb moderation is done by a group of volunteer moderators, mostly from the Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and England Regional Administration (WISERA). This role is often conflated because the GEB members are moderators of the GEB section of the forum, where the GEB does time sensitive voting on GEB business. Moderator status for this section allows GEB members to post to the section without moderator approval, for the purpose of conducting official GEB business of a time sensitive nature in between scheduled GEB meetings.

Only one GEB member, Selena, is a member of the moderation team. Selena is not allowed by the moderation team to moderate posts related to the GEB or about herself.

Q. Has the GEB Chair threatened to sue members that criticize the GEB?

A. No. In an exchange on the IWW's forum about the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (the forum belongs to the Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and England Regional Administration), the General Secretary-Treasurer inaccurately claimed the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act in the United States "includes the right to discuss union business in private and public spaces (listservs, facebook groups, blogs, etc), to criticize officers up to the point of even slandering them." The General Executive Board Chair corrected the GST's misinformation, stating that libel and slander is illegal in the U.S. and Canada, even under the LMRDA:

"I just want to clarify that the LMRDA doesn't protect members who slander or libel officers from the legal ramifications of doing so.

What it does do is prevent the union from suing or internally disciplining the individual member for slander or libel.

It does not, however, prevent the officer from individually suing the member for slander or libel.

The point was so that it couldn't be used for undemocratic union charges internally, NOT because LMRDA magically makes slander and libel legal in the US. It means that any action taken against slander and libel has to be actual legal action between the individuals rather than internal union discipline.

Let's also consider for a moment that NARA has members and officers in both the US and Canada, and from my understanding, Canada has some pretty strict laws against slander and libel. Just something to consider for members who might misinterpret the LMRDA as giving a free pass to intentionally slander officers. While the union won't discipline you for it, that doesn't mean the courts won't. It's still illegal."

Q. Did the General Executive Board instruct the IWW's lawyers that the General Secretary-Treasurer is no longer allowed to speak with them?

A. No. The IWW's lawyers are actually the lawyers to the General Executive Board, not the General Secretary-Treasurer. The GST has previously liaised with the lawyers at the board's request. They are union governance lawyers — meaning they assist the board on matters related to LMRDA and labor law compliance, which the GEB is tasked with overseeing for the union. The lawyers stated it was their preference to only have one point of contact for the IWW, thus this is handled by the General Executive Board Chair(s). As the General Secretary-Treasurer is not a member of the General Executive Board, the GST cannot effectively serve as the sole liaison to the lawyers, as there are times when the board must ask the lawyers about confidential information that the GST may not be privy to, such as complaints against members or officers, or staff grievances, among other things. It has never been the case that the GST had access to the lawyers independent of the GEB's instruction, so this does not interfere with the GST's ability to perform their job. While the GST can be tasked by the GEB to conduct correspondence on behalf of the board, this task is also entrusted to the GEB Chair(s) and is more appropriate for the Chair to handle given the potential for sensitive information.

Q. Is it true that the GEB refused to hear charges against an officer?

A. No. There was a complaint filed against a staff member in their capacity as an employee of the union for carrying out tasks that were assigned to them, for which their contract contains an indemnity clause. That member is also an officer in a different department, but that officer role was unrelated to the complaint that was filed. The GEB consulted with the union's lawyers, who determined that the union cannot punish staff for carrying out the tasks assigned to them by their boss, as they have no autonomy in decision making and are under the direction of their employer. In other words, the charges process is not the correct venue for complaints about the work of staff members, and members wishing to complain about staff interactions can do so by emailing geb@iww.org.

## Organizing Department Board Report

FWs,

As mentioned in last month's GEB we are officially announcing the job opening and are taking applications for the Field Team Director position, an entry level full-time organizer position, helping coordinate shop committees, offer ongoing mentorship, and recruit members to help build sustainable and militant unions in the food production industry of Northern New Jersey. Below is the job ad in English and Spanish. The ad will be sent out sometime in the next week to all IWW members in good standing, as well as on our website, so get your application together and apply online! We can't wait to hear from you.

\*\*\*JOB AD\*\*\*

We are thrilled to open applications for the role of Field Director as part of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) Field Team Program. This program aims to focus union resources on a carefully selected organizing target with the goal of supporting the creation of a historic union victory and deeply established IWW union. The Field Director will play a crucial role in ensuring this projects' success and advancing the historical legacy of our union.

We are proud of our history of organizing across gender, ethnic, and racial lines and our significant contributions to the labor movement around the world. This program will prioritize being accountable to membership and the communities we work in, committed to confronting racial and gender injustice, and being passionate about building a culture of solidarity to make change.

As the Field Director, you will facilitate the development of a worker-led and operated union, connect with organizers already deeply involved in the struggle like Brandworkers - an organization of food manufacturing workers in the New York City area - and recruit more volunteers to join in support. As a valued organizer with the IWW, you will unite with worker leaders, organizers, campaigners, community allies, and our team to support our vision for building power through direct action among oppressed people.

We look forward to your vision and contribution to the next chapter of our union.

For reference:

This job is connected to the ODB's Field Team & Salting Program, as codified in the Detroit Plan and presented to the membership at a public consultation conference.

This job is the Field Team Director.

- \$46,800 July 1, 2021 - June 30, 2022
- 40h x \$22.50/h x 52 weeks

This position is intended to work in tandem with the Brandworkers team, in directing and recruiting a team of worker-organizers, with the additional budget to bring onboard additional External Organizers as needed allocated.

Additional money allocated in connection with this position— such as financial support for the worker-organizers—

is specified in the appendix.

This page and the appendix appear here for reference only and is not intended to be included in the ad that will ultimately be circulated.

#### Field Director Job Description

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is a labor union representing nearly 8,000 workers across North America. Established in 1905, the IWW is known for its high standards of democracy, transparency, multinationalism, and active use of the right to strike.

The IWW seeks a Field Director of Organizing with labor organizing experience, as well as a demonstrated record of success in running union drives of scale. Under the direction of the Union's Organizing Department and Brandworkers, the job of the Field Director of Organizing will involve overseeing the deployment of a team of workplace organizers targeting a particular corporate target. This position is based in New Jersey.

#### This role will:

- Work in a team to develop and implement unionization strategies;
- Track, compile, and analyze unionization progress;
- Be responsible for the supervision and daily operations of the worker-organizers and external organizers, in collaboration with our team;
- Identify, assess, and build relationships based on trust with worksite leaders;
- Support workplace committee leaders to design agendas, organize co-workers, develop a path to victory, formulate and advance a campaign, and counter anti-organizing tactics.

#### Qualifications

- Fluency in Spanish;
- Competency in English (Level C1 or higher in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages);
- Disciplined work methods and ability to work under pressure;
- 5+ years of experience in union organizing;
- Demonstrated experience in developing and executing comprehensive and strategic unionization plans with large or small, multi-branch corporations, with a proven ability to draft direct-action escalating pressure-tactic based campaigns for diverse workplaces;
- Demonstrated experience in winning union recognition through NLRB processes;
- Cultural competency and ability to speak to workers of various cultural, educational, racial/ethnic, and gender backgrounds;
- Outstanding written and oral communication skills, with proven ability to write and speak persuasively, exercise judgement, and speak to people inside and outside the union with professionalism;
- Experience in drafting campaign demands, petitions, collective bargaining clauses, negotiations strategies, and related materials;
- Ability to provide effective workplace organizing training;
- Ability to initiate projects, work independently, handle multiple priority projects and meet deadlines;
- Experience with day-to-day management and operations, including the supervision of personnel (sales, external organizers, volunteers);
- Understanding and experience with relevant labor laws;
- Ability to use technologies like Google (drive, documents, translate, spreadsheets, calendar, meets, search), Zoom, Signal/SMS, Slack, Salesforce.

If you meet these qualifications, please fill out the following application form [application to be published online at [jobs.iww.org/](https://jobs.iww.org/)]

Estamos encantados de empezar a aceptar solicitudes para el puesto de Director de Campo en el marco del Programa de Equipo de Campo de Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo (IWW, por sus siglas en inglés). Este programa busca enfocar los recursos sindicales en un objetivo organizativo cuidadosamente seleccionado con la meta de apoyar la creación de una victoria sindical histórica y un sindicato IWW profundamente establecido. El Director de Campo desempeñará un papel crucial para garantizar el éxito de este proyecto y promover el legado histórico de nuestro sindicato.

Estamos orgullosos de nuestra historia de organización sin barreras de género, etnia o raza y de nuestras contribuciones significativas al movimiento sindical en todo el mundo. Este programa dará prioridad a ser responsables ante los miembros y las comunidades en las que nos organizamos, comprometidos a enfrentar la injusticia racial y de género, y apasionados por construir una cultura de solidaridad por el cambio.

Como Director de Campo, facilitará el desarrollo de un sindicato dirigido y operado por trabajadores, te

conectarás con organizadores que ya están en la lucha como Brandworkers, una organización de trabajadores de fabricación de alimentos en el área de la ciudad de Nueva York, y reclutarás más voluntarios para apoyar la causa. Como organizador valioso de la IWW, te unirás con líderes trabajadores, organizadores, activistas, aliados comunitarios y nuestro equipo para apoyar nuestra visión de construir poder a través de la acción directa entre las personas oprimidas.

Esperamos tu visión y contribución al próximo capítulo de nuestro sindicato.

#### Descripción del puesto de director de campo

Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), es un sindicato que representa a casi 8,000 trabajadores en América del Norte. Fundado en 1905, el IWW es conocido por sus altos estándares de democracia, transparencia, multinacionalismo y uso activo del derecho de huelga.

Buscamos un Director de Campo de Organización con experiencia en organización laboral, así como con un historial demostrado de éxito en la ejecución de campañas sindicales de escala. Bajo la dirección del Departamento de Organización del Sindicato y Brandworkers, el trabajo del Director de Campo de Organización implicará supervisar el despliegue de un equipo de organizadores en el lugar de trabajo dirigidos a un objetivo corporativo en particular. Esta posición tiene su sede en Nueva Jersey.

#### Este rol:

- Trabajar en equipo para desarrollar e implementar estrategias de sindicalización;
- Seguimiento, compilación y análisis del progreso de la sindicalización;
- Ser responsable de la supervisión y funcionamiento diario de las sales y organizadores externos, en colaboración con nuestro equipo;
- Identificar, evaluar y construir relaciones basadas en la confianza con los líderes del lugar de trabajo;
- Apoyar a los líderes de los comités en el lugar de trabajo para diseñar agendas, organizar a los compañeros de trabajo, desarrollar un camino hacia la victoria, formular y promover una campaña y contrarrestar las tácticas anti-organizativas.

#### Calificaciones y habilidades:

- Fluidez en español;
- Competencia en inglés (nivel C1 o superior en el Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las Lenguas);
- Métodos de trabajo disciplinados y capacidad para trabajar bajo presión;
- Más de 5 años de experiencia en organización sindical;
- Experiencia demostrada en el desarrollo y ejecución de planes de sindicalización integrales y estratégicos con corporaciones multisectoriales grandes o pequeñas, con una capacidad comprobada para redactar campañas basadas en tácticas de presión de escalamiento de acción directa por diversos lugares de trabajo;
- Experiencia demostrada en la obtención del reconocimiento sindical a través de procesos NLRB;
- Competencia cultural y capacidad para hablar con trabajadores de diversos antecedentes culturales, educativos, raciales / étnicos y de género;
- Excelentes habilidades de comunicación oral y escrita, con capacidad probada para escribir y hablar de manera persuasiva, ejercer juicio y hablar con personas dentro y fuera del sindicato con profesionalismo;
- Experiencia en la redacción de demandas de campaña, peticiones, cláusulas de negociación colectiva, estrategias de negociación y materiales relacionados;
- Capacidad para proporcionar una formación eficaz en la organización del lugar de trabajo;
- Capacidad para iniciar proyectos, trabajar de forma independiente, manejar múltiples proyectos prioritarios y cumplir con los plazos;
- Experiencia con la gestión y las operaciones del día a día, incluida la supervisión del personal (sales, organizadores externos, voluntarios);
- Comprensión y experiencia con las leyes laborales relevantes;
- Capacidad para utilizar tecnologías como Google (conducir, documentos, traducción, hojas de cálculo, calendario, reuniones, búsqueda), Zoom, Signal / SMS, Slack, Salesforce.

Si cumple con estos requisitos, favor de completar el siguiente formulario de solicitud.

#### Motions Considered

- CURRENTLY LIVE MB-20 Retain Services of Burgess Law Offices
- CURRENTLY LIVE LB-14 (2021) - Motion to extend Dill Pickle strike fund authorization
- PASSED MB-19 (2021) Stipend MD for leads processing
- PASSED KM-02 (2021) - Renew ODC Agreement for FY 21-22
- PASSED CC-15 (2021) Legal Expenses for Organizing Campaigns
- PASSED MB-18 (2021) Appointment to Unemployed Workers Organizing Program Advisory Council
- PASSED CC-14 (2021) Reimburse Bay Area GMB member for 2 month docusign account

## Public Organizing News

- Dill Pickle workers went on a two day strike holding down the picket line with the Greater Chicago RWV as well as fellow labor movement supporters, shutting down much of the store traffic for the two days. Please consider donating to the workers Strike & Hardship fund, this can be found on the Dill Pickle Worker's Union social media pages.
- Voodoo Doughnuts workers walked out at the Downtown Portland, Oregon location during a historic heatwave that had unsafe temperatures for workers in the kitchen and at the register. Workers marched on the boss on the hottest day in Portland recorded history, walking off during the peak hot hours and convincing a majority of others to stay out as well. Some strike organizers were illegally retaliated against in the following few days, workers and labor community supporters responded by sending a delegation on management, legal action with NLRB/OSHA/BOLI, a social media campaign, and an upcoming mass picket July 29 to go along with other surprise actions to keep up the heat. This all came on the heels of the disappointing tie NLRB certification vote last month, where ballots and ULPs are still out contesting the results. More workers ended up participating in this action than voted, a good sign for morale of worker-organizers. Please consider donating to the workers Strike & Hardship fund at the Doughnut Workers United social media pages, keep spirits up, and keep this passionate new blood in the union pumping!
- OVEC Workers at the West Virginia environmental non-profit won their NLRB certification election along with the NLRB finding merit in their Unfair Labor Practice charges.
- Workers at Caliber: Beta Academy, in Richmond, California, mobilized a teachers, support staff, and parents to speak in support of their union at the most recent board team meeting. Over 50 people attended the meetings that usually are a small group of around 25, workers said this was the most attended board meeting since the school was given its official charter with the district. Parents gave overwhelmingly positive testimony for the Caliber Workers Union and their struggle, mostly through live spanish translation. Workers elected a bargaining team and are looking to escalate as management has chosen to continue to not recognize their overwhelming majority support at the Richmond charter school. Check out more of these workers' stories in our union's online newspaper: Industrial Worker
- Burgerville Workers in Portland, Oregon won drive-thru tips and credit card tips through a months-long campaign of petitions, button ups, and marches on the boss. This was a central issue for so many workers for years in the Burgerville Workers Union, some of the workers' very first actions were bringing in union tip jars to the counter, and passing around tip jars on the picket lines throughout the years. Even after a years long fight for tips, Burgerville dragged their feet after agreeing. Now the software for credit card and drive thru tips has been implemented in several stores amounting to a massive increase in workers' take home pay. Wobblies keep on winning!
- If you have more workplace action and campaign stories to tell, please share them with us to post next month: [organize@iww.org](mailto:organize@iww.org)

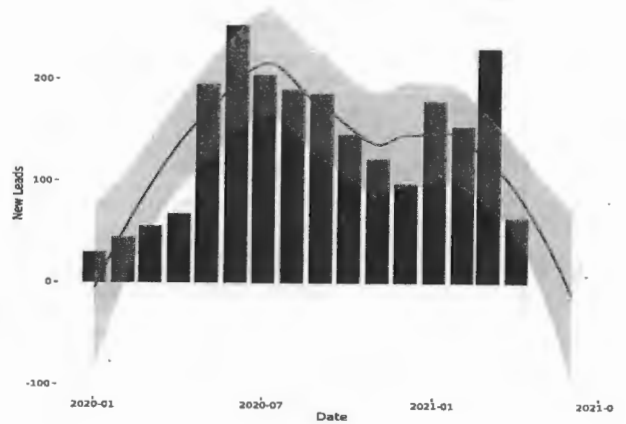


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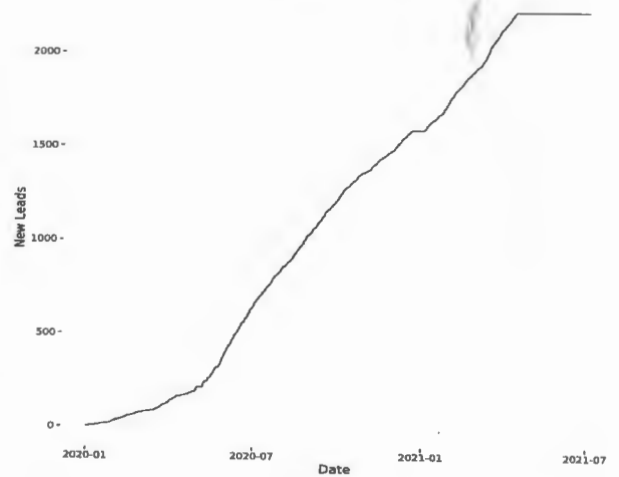
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Leads by Month



Leads by Time



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## Survey and Research Committee Report

No report submitted.

## Organizer Training Committee Report

### Announcements & Updates:

The members of the OTC are Haile W. (SIEM IUB 620), Bonnie F. (SIEM IUB 620), Erica R. (Missoula GMB), Sylvia M. (Vancouver GMB), and Karsten S. (Seattle GMB). We last met as a committee on Saturday, June 12th. Our next meeting is on Saturday, July 10th.

With recent changes to the CDC recommendations, we are in the process of reevaluating where we are at in terms of scheduling in person trainings. Part of that process has been surveying the trainers to see what they are comfortable with since they will be the ones traveling and facilitating groups. We will be announcing those findings in our next GOB report.

Since our last GOB report, 2 trainings have been put on by branches or committees and 9 trainings are in the works. If you are a branch, proto-branch, or committee of 12 or more people, feel free to request a training with us if you have less than that, contact us anyway and we may be able to combine your training with another branch. The first step of this is to fill out this form: <http://tinyurl.com/OTRequest>. Feel free to reach out to us at [otc@iww.org](mailto:otc@iww.org) if you have any questions.

\*\*\*At this time due to unavailability of trainers, we are not scheduling any more trainings before September\*\*\*

### Online Trainings:

We have updated our Putting Together a Training document for the online format. This went out to all members on July 10th. We have included some highlights from the document below to help branches who have not looked at the document yet. Trainings are scheduled in 4 sessions 3 hours each on non-consecutive days (Tuesday/Thursday/Tuesday/Thursday, or 4 Saturdays in a row, for example). We ask that requests are made 4-6 weeks out from when you want the training to occur, and you must go through the OTC even if you have in-house trainers. Trainers are only eligible to facilitate the online training if they have gone through our online trainer orientation. If you have questions feel free to email us at [otc@iww.org](mailto:otc@iww.org).

### The Essentials

Request: Please submit a training request form ([tinyurl.com/OTRequest](http://tinyurl.com/OTRequest)) and email the OTC at [otc@iww.org](mailto:otc@iww.org) at least 6 weeks in advance of your preferred date. An OTC member will follow up. Due to an influx of requests, we may not be able to secure the date you are hoping for, so it may be helpful to come with a few different date possibilities.

Date: In communication with your OTC contact, set a date for the 4-session training (each session is approximately 3 hours). We recommend two alternating weekdays over the course of two weeks such as Tuesday/Thursday/Tuesday/Thursday, or four Saturdays in a row. Funds Since the trainings are online over Zoom, there are not the typical costs associated with planning an OT 101. Organizers should plan on a 4 day training, typically run over the course of 4 weekends, or alternating week days over the course of two weeks. If you are flexible, providing the OTC with a few preferred dates can help increase the pool of available trainers.

Trainers: When you request a training, the OTC will find two trainers to be assigned to your training. Only certified OT 101 trainers who have also gone through the OTC's online training orientation are allowed to give the Online OT 101 training. For branches that have their own in-house trainers, please confirm with the OTC that your trainers have gone through the orientation and have been cleared.

Publicity and registrations: The OTC can provide you with a template registration form to adapt to your needs. The OTC requests that you are able to show that you have at least 5 attendees confirmed by 2 weeks out from your training. If you do not have this number yet, please be in touch with us and we can try to work out a solution such as combining your training with another group or pushing your training out while you work to get more attendees confirmed. This is to respect the time of our trainers as well as your branch/campaign. The Organizer Training Program began as a training meant primarily for IWW members, but has grown to be something that many non-members attend as well. When you're planning your training, consider who you will advertise to and how you will advertise. If your training is aimed at a specific group of workers from one industry or at the broad activist scene will impact how and where you advertise the training. Doing untargeted, general outreach is discouraged, as participants who attend the training who don't know anything about the IWW beforehand are often very confused by the nature of the training and our organization, thus wasting their and our time. In any case, person-to-person contact is the best way to ensure commitment from participants. At this point in time we are limited trainings to 25 participants due to the nature of the online training so that each attendee can have the best experience possible.

Notes on the Online Format: We are using Zoom as our method of giving out the online OT 101. If your branch already has a Zoom account, that would be great to use. If you do not have one, the OTC has an account that can have up to 2 calls going at once. We will not be recording the trainings. Adapting our OT 101 to an online format has been a difficult process and is still very new. We are still working out the kinks, but we feel that we have done

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the best we can to make sure attendees are able to get as much out of the online training as they can from an in-person training. That said, we do not believe that this should be a permanent fixture for the union. Once it is safe, we are looking forward to going back to in-person trainings.

Follow up: The point of the training is to get people organizing their workplaces. But new organizers need a lot of support, so have a conversation in your branch before the training about how you plan to support the organizers who try to put the ideas of the training into practice.

### Training for Trainers:

The Richmond T4T has been put on indefinite hold. The next training for trainers will still be held in that location, but we are holding off on planning any more details until we know more about the crisis in the coming weeks/months.

We will not be moving our training for trainers curriculum to an online format due to the nature of this kind of training. T4Ts are on hold until we are able to host in-person trainings again.

### Training Requests:

\*\*\*This information does not currently apply due to the covid-19 crisis, however we are still including it in our report for Fellow Workers to be aware of in the future\*\*\*

If you or your branch is looking to schedule a training, please keep in mind the following: the OTC strongly recommends that branches/members contact us at least three (3) months in advance to begin the process of scheduling a training. Email us at [otc@iww.org](mailto:otc@iww.org) and submit our new training request form ([tinyurl.com/OTRequest](http://tinyurl.com/OTRequest)) to begin the process of setting up a training, and please allow a week for us to respond to your initial email.

If you are planning a training and do not require any assistance, that's great! Please still pass along the details of your upcoming training to the OTC as far in advance as possible. With the increased demand for trainings, we hope to be able to connect more members to nearby branches for trainings. It's a great way to build connections outside of a branch and also helps at-large members or members from newer branches attend trainings and feel connected to the broader union.

### Reporting:

The OTC thanks trainers for submitting timely reports and peer trainer feedback at our new report link, [tinyurl.com/OTTrainerReport](http://tinyurl.com/OTTrainerReport), which helps to strengthen our training program and allows our union to celebrate this important work! The OTC would also like to remind trainers to submit individual, separate reports. Each trainer should file reports individually. Once again, if you are a trainer who is not receiving emails on the OTC listserv, please contact the OTC.

For the OBU,  
Haile W  
OTC Chair

### Passed Motions

None this month.

## International Committee Report

Unfortunately, the International Committee meeting for 2021 July did not have quorum, so it did not occur. The draft agenda for the 2021 July meeting will be repurposed for the 2021 August meeting. There will be important business related to solidarity efforts with workers in Myanmar and Colombia to discuss at it. The International Committee currently consists of three members - FWs Ruth, Scarlett, and K/Is. Below are updates from the International Committee.

- The International Committee is seeking applications to fill vacancy seats on the committee. The description of the position and qualification can be found at: <https://tinyurl.com/202105NARAICVacancy>.
  - Three vacancy applications were submitted to the GEB, two from new applicants and one from an interim member.
- The International Committee is currently in contact with FWs in Cyprus who are interested in building a ROC, with either WISERA or NARA. The IC has contacted the Secretary of WISERA regarding this.
- The International Committee is currently in contact with a member of a recently formed syndicalist union in Russia, who is interested in communicating with the IWW.
- On the International Confederation of Labor -
  - The ICL held its Liaison Committee meeting on 2021 June 27.
    - WISERA-IWW has been admitted into the ICL.
    - The Asia Working Group is coordinating solidarity efforts with workers in Myanmar.
    - The Americas Working Group is coordinating solidarity efforts with workers in Colombia.
  - The ICL has "working groups" that focus on specific world areas. These groups are open to any member of the IWW - so interested Fellow Workers should inquire to the International Committee at [international@iww.org](mailto:international@iww.org).
    - The Middle East Working Group (formerly known as the North and Eastern Syria Working Group):
      - This group is the ICL point of contact for matters related to North and Eastern Syria. They

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are responsible for making contacts in the region and neighboring countries relevant to the revolution in northeastern Syria. They collect information about the revolution and its current course as well as coordinating and organizing donation and solidarity campaigns.

- This working group consists of representatives from the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour, Spain), Unione Sindacale Italiana (Italian Syndicalist Union, Italy), and Freie ArbeiterInnen-und-Arbeiter Union (Free Workers' Union, Germany).
- Asia Working Group:
  - This group is the ICL point of contact for Asia. They are responsible for developing contacts in that region as well as promoting the exchange of information between those contacts and the ICL sections. They also facilitate union education and provide practical solidarity in addition to organizing and coordinating international campaigns in support of worker's struggles in Asia.
  - A complete list of ICL sections participating in this working group was not available at this time, but the North American Regional Administration of the IWW is participating in this working group.
- Americas Working Group:
  - This group is the ICL point of contact for the Americas. Based on the principles of the ICL, they seek to develop solidarity and internationalism, class struggle, horizontality, federalism, and class independence on the American continent.
  - This working group consists of representatives from the Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (Argentine Regional Workers' Federation, Argentina), Federação das Organizações Sindicalistas Revolucionárias (Federation of Revolutionary Union Organizations, Brazil) and Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers' Center, Bolivia).
  - The IC will be considering a motion at its 2021 August meeting to recommend that the GEB appoint an IWW member to this working group.

The next meeting of the International Committee will be on 2021 August 01 at 18:00 AT / 17:00 ET / 16:00 CT / 15:00 MT / 14:00 PT / 13:00 AKT / 12:00 HT. Meeting information for Zoom will be on the InterWeb forums in the NARA International Committee section later this month, as well as a draft agenda. The meetings will follow the cadence of the first Sunday of a month.

Fellow Workers looking to contact the International Committee can either use the International Committee section of the InterWeb forums or email [international@iww.org](mailto:international@iww.org).

### IW Editor Report

No report submitted.

### Solidaridad Report

No report submitted.

### General Defense Committee Report

No report submitted.

### Junior Wobblies Report

Hello Fellow Workers!

We have some exciting program announcements for you all this month:

**Friday, July 16th and Saturday, July 17th Virtual Jr Wobblies Family Camp!**  
Jr Wobblies Virtual Family Camp is a go!

At the time I am writing this, we have 34 Jr Wobblies registered to attend Camp, ranging in age from 2-17, and we are thrilled that so many families are choosing to participate - we know how hard it is to carve out time in the summer, especially since we didn't get our email blast out to the general membership until just a week before Camp.

We will be sending out as many Camp Kits as possible - we hadn't planned on so many registrants, but we are pretty sure that all families who were registered by Friday the 9th will receive one. Those who registered later will still receive a small package, and there will be a materials list that will go out for items needed to complete the projects.

While we are still finalizing our details (typical of every camp I've ever worked on), we can share some of the programming that we will be offering for Camp:

- Campfire programs and activities (including building four fires from recyclables and items in the camp kits)
- Indoor tent / fort building and knot tying
- Music and performances (including special guest musicians)
- Trivia
- Read a longs
- Lessons and activities around age appropriate organizing (including mask and picket sign making)
- Among Us (for the older kids)
- Arts and crafts
- Camp snacks
- Show and tell and talents

Regrettably, though, there had been a typo in previous announcements saying that Friday was July 17th, not the 16th. We corrected that as soon as we were made aware in all of the announcements that could be corrected. So far, no one has had to cancel as a result, and we will do our best to make sure that our dates are correct in the future. Thank you for your understanding!

We will keep the registration form open until Thursday, July 15th.

IWW families including one or more Jr Wobblies can register using this link: <https://forms.gle/Exe68a8cYm9dMCns9>  
Volunteers can apply here: <https://forms.gle/yMPPYcRvTkQl8mW6>

### Parent/Caregiver Virtual Meet-Ups:

In the coming weeks we will be starting to have regular virtual meet-ups for parents and caregivers, so that we can all build new bonds across our Jr Wobbly families and strengthen the bonds we already have. These will be held over Zoom and will be open to all parents and caregivers in the IWW. The joining information will be sent out over the Forums and the Jr Wobblies Facebook!

### Baby Boxes:

Since we fully launched this program in April, we have filled 5 Baby Box requests. Many congratulations to our new Jr Wobblies and their families!

All Fellow Workers who have or are preparing to welcome a new Jr Wobbly into their home are invited to fill out this form: <https://forms.gle/t8XXHkE15Ch63lUv9> to receive a Baby Box. If you have an expectant family in your branch, we encourage you to point them to the form, or fill it out as a gift to them! These Baby Boxes include some basic baby items, such as a travel bed/changing station, feeding accessories, clothing items, hygiene items, fun IWW stuff, and other things. This is a project that the Jr Wobblies Committee has been working on for some months, and we are so excited to be able to roll this out to the membership!



### Communications With Other Jr Wobblies Families:

One of our big goals with the Jr Wobblies Committee is to foster bonds between the many families in the IWW, so in addition to having virtual meet-ups and camps, we have taken to social media. We have recently launched a Facebook page, and will be setting up a private Facebook group for parents and caregivers to connect with each other and find community in a safe space.

We are also encouraging parents and caregivers to share their Jr Wobblies' artwork or writings in the GOBI Those 500 words and 1 image a month allotted to all wobblies in good standing can also be used this way as well!

For the older Jr Wobblies themselves, we are in the process of setting up a moderated Discord server where they can make friends with other Jr Wobblies and play games or just talk.



**Connecting With The Jr Wobblies Committee:**

While we do have an InterWob subforum, we haven't been able to get it up and running in a way that allows for the kind of discussion we would like, but we are working on it! We look forward to having lively discussions with Fellow Workers who are interested in connecting and working with other parents/caretakers, those who work with youth, and the youth of the Union themselves (since youth as young as 14 can be members of a Labor Union in their own right).

As we take on some of our bigger projects, we will be periodically looking for volunteers to help us with things like graphic design/illustrations, curriculum development, and other stuff.

Additionally, we are always available at [jrwobblies@gmail.com](mailto:jrwobblies@gmail.com)

**Some Things About the Jr Wobblies Committee:**

The Jr Wobblies Committee has been continuing to work towards our larger vision of ensuring that the union is a welcoming and engaging place for IWW children and families. Please take a peek at our Winter Meeting report here: <https://tinyurl.com/779zmat>

The Jr Wobblies Committee meets twice monthly over Zoom. Our meeting minutes can be found [here](#).

Some things that we are working on for 2021 (detailed in our Winter Meeting report):

- Virtual family camp
- IWW Baby Boxes
- Connecting Jr Wobblies via gaming and conversation platforms
- Connecting Wobbly families in the Forums
- Jr Wobblies in A Box kits for branches
- And more!

In order to make all of these things happen, we will be periodically reaching out to the larger IWW for feedback and ideas to assist us in ensuring that what we produce truly is beneficial to the youth and families in our union!

**Motions Passed From June - Current:**

- KTW 20210617 01: Purchase a Zoom Account for Virtual Camp from Line Item 5495
- KTW 20210627 01: Motion to reimburse FW Kelsey TW for purchases of Baby Box Items: travel baby beds, pacifiers, baby mittens, and shipping cartons totaling \$310.08 from line 5496 Baby Boxes
- KTW 20210627 02 Motion to reimburse FW Kelsey TW for shipping cost of \$24.26 for one baby box from line 5496 Baby Boxes
- KTW 20210627 03 Motion to reimburse FW Kelsey TW for shipping of 2 additional baby boxes not to exceed \$60 from line 5496 Baby Boxes
- KTW 20210627 04 Motion to spend up to \$200 on Red Cards and Charters, if possible, prior to the end of the fiscal year
- PS 20210627 01 Motion to Approve Jr Wobblies FB Group Rules (for the grown-ups)
- KTW 20210627 05 Motion to approve form - already circulated among committee for feedback
- KTW 20210627 06 Motion to approve draft form - will be circulated among committee for input and editing prior to sending to the membership
- KTW 20210627 07 Motion to purchase the above listed items for 20 camp kits, plus extra project materials for camp counselors, prior to the end of the fiscal year, and reimburse the purchaser from line item 5495 Camp Costs

For the One Big Union,  
Kelsey Tanabe Walker  
Chair, 2021 Jr Wobblies Committee

**Communications Department Report**

Communications Department Report Covering June 2021 Activities

Over the month of June, our Department has continued in the initial stages of installing the various policies, processes, and personnel required to achieve our mandate. Our standard activities have included running PR and PR training for active campaigns and union sections which requested support, in collaboration with the

Organizing Department, and web support.

After circulating vacancy advertisements for several volunteer positions within our committees we were privileged to be joined by Laura S. (Design), Samiha A. (Social Media), & Kait Murphy (Social Media) in May & June, and who have since hit a good stride establishing a content calendar, conducting a much needed audit and consolidation of social media assets, as well as producing several key design elements. We continue to have additional open vacancies within our Design, Social Media, and Publications Committees.

Additionally, as the union has opted to phase out the [iww.org](http://iww.org) administration committee (IAC), over the course of June our Department completed a recruitment process for a part-time Web Director. In collaboration with the IAC Chair, the Communications Department Board was able to come to a consensus on a candidate to recommend to the Executive. Our new Toronto-based Web Director, Simon Cook, is presently on a steep onboarding process and while he is not yet set-up to receive an immediate avalanche of support requests he has taken charge of our [tech@iww.org](mailto:tech@iww.org) address in order to clear the last few months of backlogged support requests. Simon also took charge of completing the migration to Google Workspace. In bringing on this staff position, we hope not only to improve US-Canada facing web presence, but also increase the quality, security, and sustainability of our network of branch and campaign websites.

Unfortunately, in the month of June we said goodbye to Publications Committee Chair (PCC), Tony Bertram. In his final month, Tony professionally maintained the union's publications infrastructure and ensured that stories in the pipeline were brought to print. Tony also competently set up a transition framework and documentation for the incoming PCC. We owe Tony a debt of gratitude for setting an excellent baseline for his committee from the get-go. Succeeding Tony is Freelance Journalist and a founder of the IWW's Freelance Journalists Union (please see his report below).

Our union's Store is a part of the Communications Department, but contributes its own report to this bulletin, which you can find below.

We appreciate everyone's patience as we taxi down the runway to get this Department off the ground.

The Department will begin hosting recurring open sessions on the second Wednesday of the month to brief members of activity over the preceding month as well as projected activities in the following month. The first session will take place August 11, at 7pm ET.

Special thanks also to Zack Kalaty of the IWW.org Administration Committee for indispensable assistance in onboarding our new Web Director.

All official requests for Communications Department support should be directed by email to [communications@iww.org](mailto:communications@iww.org).

In Solidarity,  
The Communications Department

Fellow Workers,

I've only had one formal working day between my start date as Publications Committee Chair (July 1) and the submission of this report, but I also previously volunteered some of my own time to ensure I could hit the ground running. To date, I have:

- Had a transition meeting with the previous PCC (FW Tony) and Communications Department Chair (FW Madrin);
- Attended a training with the IWW's tech provider (Palante) on publishing newsletters through our membership database;
- Had an onboarding meeting with the CDC;
- Revised the payment process for contributors to Industrial Worker with the IWW Freelance Journalists Union.

Last month, [industrialworker.org](http://industrialworker.org) had:

- 2,154 unique visitors;
- 3 unique clicks to [iww.org/#organize](http://iww.org/#organize);
- 6 unique clicks to [store.iww.org](http://store.iww.org).

Each month, I'll be aiming to increase these unique visitors and unique clicks to [iww.org/#organize](http://iww.org/#organize) or [iww.org/#unionize](http://iww.org/#unionize), as proxies for organizing leads referred to the IWW Organizing Department Board (which are routed to nearby branches or a team of national external organizers, if no nearby branch exists). The number of unique clicks to [store.iww.org](http://store.iww.org) is similarly a proxy for referrals to the IWW Store, with my aim being to increase

sales.

In terms of our editorial calendar, we currently have:

- Five assignments on IWW workplace organizing campaigns to be filed by three different contributors.

If you are interested in fielding assignments, please email me at [arv@iww.org](mailto:arv@iww.org).

Moving forward, I will be:

Soliciting workplace organizing stories directly from Fellow Workers;  
Setting up introductory calls with all interested General Membership Branches, Industrial Union Branches, and other groups;  
Participating in an IW-FIU roundtable;  
Soliciting an editor for Solidaridad;  
Revising the IW style guide with the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee;  
Creating a contract for IW contributors;  
Following up on previous payments made by FIU to IW contributors.

Should you have any further questions on the work of the PCC, please don't hesitate to reach out to me directly at [arv@iww.org](mailto:arv@iww.org).

In Solidarity,  
Fellow Worker Arv (He/Him)  
Publications Committee Chair  
Industrial Workers of the World

### Education Department Board Report

The EDB had its budget slashed by about 83% by the GEB. The GST still will neither distribute the Intro to the IWW pamphlet (handed over in January) nor communicate with us about it. Our minority updated MPP language also had concerns raised about it (passive voice) by the GEB. We will have a fuller update next month.

### Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee Report

Hello everyone! I hope this edition of the General Organizing Bulletin (GOB) finds you in good health and good spirits! There are currently 845 members in good standing in prison.

FWs Earl Vee and Joe Wobb have been hard at work repairing the fire damage at the IWOC office. We are all looking forward to participating in the annual Shut'Em Down activities in August and September. You can read more about this at <https://tinyurl.com/52ueadh6> if you are an inside member, please let us know if you would like to do interviews about these events. IWOC is the media point of contact so let us know!

The next most prominent thing that I'm sure you are all noticing lately is the significant level of internal conflict among outside members right now. As IWOC is tasked with facilitating imprisoned members ability to participate in the union, I feel it is our responsibility to somehow try to shed some additional light on what is happening. Unfortunately, IWOC does not currently have any real way to help clarify the issues. Some IWOC locals are only vaguely aware of the fighting. Among those that are aware, opinions are mixed though we agree it's confusing. Some, I'm sure, are operating at a reduced capacity as a result of anxiety.

There are a few subcommunities within IWW that are engaged or not engaged in these conflicts: IWW volunteers who fill various national level roles (for example the General Executive Board members and the Organizing Department Board members), paid staff hired by IWW to do national level jobs (for example the Membership Coordinator or the Organizing Department Coordinator), IWW membership who are not volunteers in a national level office, and IWOC.

IWOC is not involved in any of the conflicts that are happening this year. We are doing well overall. As mentioned, we are mostly insulated from the fighting. Things could be better, the conflict is taking a heavy emotional toll as I am worried about unscrupulous members using IWOC as an excuse to fight with each other. As I try to keep an eye out for this bad behavior I'm having to read members saying horrid things about each other. It's really depressing. Members are quitting the union as the conflicts escalate and those are people who could be volunteering to help with IWOC work if they weren't being driven away. I'm also worried about what will happen as more and more of the unions' administrative offices become vacant. Nonetheless, IWOC has been less affected than other union committees and has not been used as a pawn in this fighting, so that's good.

Many of the paid and volunteer members who have taken on national level IWW offices have been really great to work with throughout all of this. FW Maxim Baru of the Communications Department has gone above and beyond in helping IWOC develop a more robust communications strategy for our media team. Working with FW Max has been a wonderful experience and the media strategy work he has been doing with us is just in time for the the

upcoming Shut'Em Down events!

Sabrina, our liaison on the General Executive Board (GEB) has been fabulous and all the other volunteers who comprise the General Executive Board (GEB) have been great to work with. FW Jackie resigned from the board due to harassment and I want to send out a special thank you to Jackie and the rest of the board for staying focused and doing the critical work of setting up our budget for the coming Fiscal Year.

All the paid staff at IWW General Headquarters (GHQ) have done an excellent job of supporting IWOC. FW Cam has been very patient and accommodating toward IWOC as we continue to develop better practices. Warren has continued developing new admin processes to handle incoming mail and is currently working on revamping the welcome paks he sends in. GHQ even sent us a bunch of copies of the Industrial Worker newsmag as a friendly gift for inside members (these are being mailed in batches of 3 until they run out).

All in all, the only complaint currently is that outside IWW members are treating each other horribly. Other than that, and the office fire, things are currently going well and everyone is doing great by us in their roles. From what I gather, all of the complaints and responses to the complaints have been going into the GOB so I just hope there is enough information there for you to be able to make informed decisions. In the meantime, please keep an eye out for the Shut'Em Down news and write to your closest IWOC local to let them know if your unit is participating!

In Solidarity, Brianna (IWOC HQ Coordinator)

### Current List of IWOC Locals

Name	Address	City	State	Zip
Sacramento IWOC	PO Box 163126	Sacramento	CA	95816
DC IWOC	PO Box 1303	Washington	DC	20013
Atlanta IWOC	PO Box 5390	Atlanta	GA	31107
Chicago IWOC	PO Box 180221	Chicago	IL	60618
Baltimore IWOC	PO Box 33350	Baltimore	MD	21218
KC IWOC	PO Box 414304	Kansas City	MO	64141
TC IWOC	PO Box 581561	Minneapolis	MN	55458
Missoula IWOC	91 Campus Dr. PMB 2615	Missoula	MT	59801
Francisca Lopez	PO Box 35263	Albuquerque	NM	87176
Central NY IWOC	PO Box 132	Oneonta	NY	13820-0241
Richmond IWOC	PO Box 7133	Richmond	VA	23221
Tacoma IWOC	PO Box 9284	Tacoma	WA	98490
Milwaukee IWOC	PO Box 342294	Milwaukee	WI	53234
NARA IWOC	PO Box 414304	Kansas City	MO	64141

### IWOC Locals Reports

Olympia and Tacoma, WA  
PO Box 9284, Tacoma, WA 98409  
2021-06-29  
None

Milwaukee, WI  
P.O. Box 342292 Milwaukee WI 53234  
2021-07-04

Inside contacts: 4840 most through email Inside at large IWW members: 248

Inside members who are actively working on forming an IWW branch: 7

Outside contacts: 73 people have filled out the Help the Work Along form

Spread the Word newsletter to people inside: 388

We have increased use of social media and twitter to inform the public of prison abuse.

We are now on facebook

We have made a podcast about prison conditions including the covid situation using excerpts from email from incarcerated people.

We send several newsletters by email. Grapevine is set to almost every on our contact list.

It is general interest and contains excerpts from emails we receive from incarcerated people. We have just sent issue 12.

Freedom's Cause, to about 90 people. It is a mix of inside news and outside news items from publications. It helps inside people know what is going on, on the outside.

We also have 3 prison specific newsletters: Fox Lake, Green Bay, Racine

Olympic and Tacoma, WA  
PO Box 9284, Tacoma, WA 98409  
2021-07-05  
None

Cincinnati, Ohio  
Ohio Valley IWWC, c/o Ohio Valley IWW, POB 6042, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206  
2021-07-05  
Keeping up with letters, assisting with tax filing.

### Gender Equity Committee Report

No report submitted.

### Industrial Union 450 Coordinating Committee Report

No report submitted.

### Finance Committee Report

No report submitted.

### CanROC Regional Secretary Report

No Report Submitted

### Membership Coordinator Report

Came back from parental leave a few weeks ago and started working in-person at the (new) office for the first time since mid-March 2020.

Thank you to Cam and Ana for keeping up with my work tasks, which no doubt came at the expense of their own tasks. Thank you to Kelsey and the Junior Wobblies Committee for the baby starter box! And thank you to the 2020 and 2021 GEB, for agreeing to provide GHQ Staff with parental leave. It would have been very difficult for my family and I without parental leave.

So far in 2021, we received 2,087 initiations through the Red Card website. This is lower than the amount during the same time period in 2020, in which there were 2,845 initiations, but easily on pace to exceed the number of initiations in each year from 2017-2019.

According to our numbers, our retention rate for those who were members at the beginning of October 2020 is 70%. That means 70% of the 7,086 members at the start of October 2020 are still members as of July 2021. The last time we ran these numbers was March 2021 and the retention rate for those who were members at the start of October 2020 was 79%.

Now that I'm in the office again, regular new member packets containing the Constitution, OBU, EDB Intro pamphlet, most recent GOB, plan, welcome letter and card will be sent out instead of the smaller, reduced packets that were being sent out while working from home.

The IWWC coordinator and myself are working to update the new member packets I send prisoner-members to ensure we are providing information that is tailored for and relevant to them.

The GST, the Assistant Membership Coordinator and myself have tried to plan ahead regarding the recall petition. If it ends up going forward, I think we'll be able to handle it just fine.

Due to confusion around a motion passed by the GEB at their 6/28/21 meeting, I've pretty much ceased sending any emails through the CiviCRM database. I'm working with members of the GEB to gain clarity and move forward with consulting some of this basic communication I do with new online signups, at-large delegates/members and prospective members who still need to complete the online joining process.

In Solidarity,  
Warren Conatser Echevarria  
Membership Coordinator  
Industrial Workers of the World  
North American Regional Administration

### Assistant Membership Coordinator Report

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Hey everyone,

At the beginning of June, I was still working on processing new online sign-ups and reinitiations. I sent out the last of the new membership packets I had at the end of the month. As of June 28th, I am back to just processing branch reports and resolving issues now that Warren is back from parental leave. It was a good experience learning about that side of the membership work and getting to reach out to other branches I hadn't been in contact with yet. I struggled a bit with keeping up with both tasks since there were some weeks that had a lot of sign-ups! I am now trying to catch up with my current stack of branch reports! Below you'll find a list of problem reports as of 7/7/2021.

In solidarity,

Ana  
Assistant Membership Coordinator  
ana@iww.org

Atlanta GMB	8/31/2020
Bay Area GMB	3/9/2021
Boston GMB	3/9/2021
Madison WI GMB	(October) 10/29/2020
Madison WI GMB	(November) 10/29/2020
Madison WI GMB	(December) 10/29/2020
Madison WI GMB	(January) 1/29/2021
Madison WI GMB	(February) 1/29/2021
Madison WI GMB	5/30/2021
Missoula GMB	3/8/2021
Missoula GMB	5/23/2021
Missoula GMB	6/8/2021
NYC GMB	9/30/2020
NYC GMB	10/31/2020
NYC GMB	11/30/2020
NYC GMB	12/31/2020
NYC GMB	1/31/2021
NYC GMB	2/28/2021
NYC GMB	4/5/2021
Tennessee IWW GMB	3/5/2021
Tennessee IWW GMB	5/1/2021
Tennessee IWW GMB	6/12/2021
Whatcom-Skagit GMB	6/12/2021

### IWW Store Report

Fellow Workers,

Mostly good news and some not-as-good news for June: while we managed chipping away at order fulfillments to the point that we're essentially caught up, in the process, we were less able to focus on other vital projects for the Store. We need to conduct a physical inventory of the Store urgently, but because we're juggling working out of boxes and keeping up with orders and other responsibilities, it's proven to be quite difficult as a one-person shop. We have yet to schedule volunteers from our requests.

As a member of the Communications Department, we collaborated with the social media and design committees to hold a 24-hour flash sale to coincide with Lucy Parsons' celebrated birthday. We generated \$157 in net sales from this promo, which may seem marginal, but it's a very good indicator that we can improve revenue through social media. We'll continue to plan for additional promotions down the road and we already have ideas in mind.

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Saludos y Respetos M. D. y muchos Gracias por esa  
 esquina y esa cara que me enciño muchas gracias ~~veras~~  
 veras no me lo esperaba gracias Te lo Agradesco mucho  
 como estas mi ~~z~~ espero que bien Pues que te cuenta  
 Los ultimos 3 años e estado mal Poros Problemas y  
 Problemas 1 año a 4- Luego 14 meses a 5- y orita llevo  
 15 Meceas a 5 Por andar Peleando le meti el fierro a  
 un compa y luego a otro le di en la madre Feo Por mi  
 Peria y orita le di en su madre a mi compa con el  
 Motor ni Peto ya estubo ya boy a colgar los guantes  
 ya estubo... HB. Mira me llevo todo lo que mandastes  
 y al otro dia una bolsa negra gracias Te Pido que  
 Porfavor lla no me mandes nada ya se que onda con tigo  
 y Tu lo Necesitas mas Te lo agradesco mucho de Todo corazon  
~~De~~ veraz me an Pasado muchas cosas espero Pronto  
 salir de aqui y Platucar en Persona ~~no me an~~  
 Pasado cosas y llamero me mueren en el 2020 de  
 febrero 13. Ya estox Bien con algunos Problemas medicos  
 Algo gravez. Te Pido que Porfavor ~~de~~ buzquez al  
 Chilango el Trabajo de S.I.I. en la enfermeria y dile  
 que el ~~de~~ FLACU necesita las ~~de~~ Direcciones Para  
 escribir A Medico Para Aser la queja de que no me  
 atienden medicamente Correctamente...  
 No me atienden estos guiles se Para q quiero verte  
 Talvez Te mando una wila con mas calma Para  
 Decirte Todo lo que me a Pasado y Por que ~~es~~  
 e Pasado Jales chafas con eso Te digo que Los  
 oficiales me quemaron con un candado caliente evando  
 yo estava inconciente. ~~a~~ meta tengo que aser una  
 wila con mas tiempo Para explicarte. Pero Por  
 lo Pronto estox Bien y Te miro muy Gordito Te vez bien  
 un poco Pasado de Tamales ~~de~~ JA-JA-JA curdate  
 Te wileu Pronto. Aver si en este mes soro o el otro  
 en abril Ago mi año sin cawa el 24 de Abril Suho  
 widade mucho Dios Te Bendiga Amen

Te Quier  
 Bro

W/R DJ  
 FAKCO

A ton of items are in the process of being re/stocked! Flags were reordered. T-Shirt restocks have partly arrived already. Flash: A Novel, May Day: A Graphic History of Protest, Queering Anarchism, Rebel Girl, and Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW have all been restocked via AK Press. From Haymarket Books we received Bananas, Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, Consequences of Capitalism, an updated edition of From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation, the James Connolly Reader, A People's Guide to Capitalism, and Policing a Class Society. We placed other distributor re/stock orders for Beyond the Rebel Girl, Bisbee '17, Bread and Roses: Gender and Class Under Capitalism, Flames of Discontent, The Red Coast, We Shall Be All, A Critical Theory of Police Power, Are Prisons Obsolete?, Class, Race, and Marxism, Bread and Roses (Watson), Haymarket: A Novel, Mutual Aid (Spade), Towards the Abolition of Whiteness, Wages of Whiteness, and Marx's Grundrisse. Lastly, from PM Press we reordered the Big Red Songbook and PM Press series pamphlets. Sadly, we were incredibly unimpressed with the Pyramid of the Capitalist System Posters that arrived last month due to less than stellar resolution and paper grade. So we're sitting on plenty of stock, but we'll have to mark the item down to clearance pricing in order to move them.

Web orders for June 2021 were way down from last year by a staggering 50% and down by 5% from last month. The Store generated approximately \$7,210 in gross sales from about 180 total orders.

If you live in the Chicagoland area and are interested in volunteering for physical inventory, please reach out. We can be flexible and schedule according to your preferred time.

As always, stay radical.

For the One Big Union,

Kevin O'Connor  
store@iww.org

IWW Store						
A/R Aging Summary	Current	1 - 30	31 - 60	61 - 90	91 and over	Total
Bindleoff Counter Sales					2,517.00	2,517.00
Vancouver GMB					176.15	176.15
Whatcom-Skagit GMB	119.00					119.00

IWW Manual of Policies and Procedures from Sec 5 - 6

In order to encourage the resale of merchandise and to promote the union the Literature Department shall extend to all branches and other official union bodies credit not in excess of \$350.00 (Literature and postage), and to at large delegates credit not in excess of \$125.00 (Literature and postage) for not longer than 90 days from the date that the shipped order was received.

### General Secretary-Treasurer Report

Fellow Workers,

Ongoing issues with our office moving are getting closer to resolution. AT&T denied our requests for Konica Minolta (our new phone provider) to take over the numbers we had through AT&T. Now we are pursuing getting a entirely new local number through Konica. I spent over an hour on the phone with AT&T and couldn't get a clear answer about anything from them. What a awful company!

GHQ has generally had a lot of difficulties this month due to the General Executive Board. On 28 June the GEB passed a motion that all mass communications must be sent via the Communications Officer. GHQ is currently unable to communicate with members and branches in any meaningful way except through the GEB. This has effect the work we do here on nearly every level. The motion was passed in retaliation for the submission of a recall petition that named a majority of the GEB, and done so so hastily that the GEB members who voted yes do not agree on what it means. The GEB Chair insists that "sent via" means the Comms Office only "reviews the content" (but only after GHQ staff brought up their issues with it). Others who voted yes say their understand is all emails sent via RedCard (our database) must be sent by the CO himself. Until this is resolved GHQ is not sure it can do its functions, and the motion itself is arguable unconstitutional as in Article III Sec 4(a) states I am empowered to do the correspondence pertaining to my office.

A recall petition was received at GHQ on 28 June. It named Liss Water Hyde, Selena Caldera, Scarlett Gillespie, and Jacki West in it. Jacki West resigned shortly after it was received. The petition was not received well by the GEB majority, who have become extremely involved in how the process will proceed. This is contrary to all precedent and practice around elections in the IWW. I am extremely concerned on how this is being handled -- with the people being recalled making all the decisions about it and informally instituting extra measures to decide if the petition is valid. They have claimed all signatures on it were fraudulent, including ones collected and signed in person, without any proof and decided that was enough to halt the process all together. They have conducted unannounced meeting where members could not be present where they have bullied and pressured me into doing things their way, including by threatening to sue the IWW. Email threads on the topic have devolved into GEB members insulting me or threatening me with more retaliation. I have stated that I will no longer attend GEB meetings on this topic that are not announced and open to members. I suspect the GEB would have very different things to say if members were present.

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Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
J. Cameron Mancini  
General Secretary-Treasurer  
Industrial Workers of the World

IWW Job Branches Reported

Name	Branch	Industry	# of Members	Contact
Philadelphia IU 620	Philadelphia GMB	Education	3	phillyiww@protonmail.com
IU 620, Twin Cities	SIEM IUB 620	Education	3	sjembst@gmail.com
IU 620	Seattle GMB	Education	8	seattleiww@gmail.com
Freelance Journalists Union	NYC IUB 450	Printing and Publishing	179	freelancejournalists@iww.org
Dill Pickle Workers Union, IU 460	Greater Chicago GMB	Food Product	22	dpfcworkers1@gmail.com

Unpaid Invoices at GHQ

Date	No.	Branch	Balance	Total
2021/07/12	8911	5046 - Mellott, Brian	44.00	44.00
2021/07/11	8920	Baltimore GMB	110.00	110.00
2021/07/11	8918	Ohio Valley GMB	7.20	7.20
2021/07/09	8916	Missoula GMB	64.00	64.00
2021/07/09	8915	Phoenix GMB	35.60	35.60
2021/07/09	8914	Santa Fe GMB	4.80	4.80
2021/07/09	8913	Washington DC GMB	158.80	158.80
2021/07/09	8910	Seattle GMB	757.60	757.60
2021/07/06	8905	Whatcom-Skagit GMB	29.40	29.40
2021/07/02	8900	Greater Chicago GMB	10.00	10.00
2021/07/02	8899	Milwaukee GMB	234.40	234.40
2021/06/25	8892	Central Oklahoma GMB	92.40	92.40
2021/06/01	8840	Milwaukee GMB	164.80	164.80
2021/04/14	8760	Denver GMB	70.40	70.40
2021/03/22	8692	Sacramento Valley GMB	20.20	40.00
2021/03/05	8660	Denver GMB	19.20	19.20

### Complaints & Charges Committee Reports

IWW Greater Chicago Complaint Committee Findings Report

Complaint: FW Cam vs FW Ruppert

Committee members: FWs Jacob D, Sunyata C, Gabrielle M, Del B, Devin J

Events Summary

This committee was struck on 02 June 2021 by an emergency meeting of the Greater Chicago IWW to investigate a

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complaint from FW Cam Mancini against FW Jessica Ruppert of harassment on 28 and 29 May 2021. FW Mancini submitted a complaint with evidence and requested immediate relief in the form of a no-contact order from the emergency meeting. Submitted evidence included a summary of events, screenshots of harassing messages, screenshots of harassing public posts, and copies of harassing voice messages.

This committee reviewed the submitted materials and met to discuss them on 07 June 2021. The committee then contacted FW Mancini to offer an opportunity to provide additional information. FW Mancini stated he had no additional information to provide if the committee did not have any specific requests, which it did not. FW Ruppert was not contacted as she had requested no to be contacted by the branch and had resigned membership in the branch. Finally, the committee met on 26 June 2021 to finalize its findings.

#### Charges & Terms of Relief

FW Mancini alleged that FW Ruppert violated the proscription against harassment as outlined in Article III of the General IWW Bylaws. FW Mancini did not request a remedy but did request immediate relief to cease any communication not directly related to FW Mancini's duties as the General Secretary Treasurer.

#### Findings on Charges & Recommendations

The committee finds that FW Ruppert violated the prohibition against harassment in the following manner:

- Leaving aggressive voice and text messages for FW Mancini through Facebook Messenger, 28 May
- Continuing to contact FW Mancini through Facebook Messenger Voice Messages after being asked to stop, 28 May
- Tagging FW Mancini in public Facebook messages after being asked to stop, 29 May

The committee further finds that FW Ruppert violated the Safer Spaces Policy by making racist comments about third parties in the course of harassing FW Mancini.

The committee recommends that FW Ruppert be expelled from membership in the Greater Chicago Branch of the IWW.

The Complaints Committee, composed of Jacki W, Sabrina C, and Alice M, reviewed the complaint and the corresponding constitutional language.

The complaint alleges "1. FW Selena Caldera willfully failed to comply with the IWW Constitution, General Bylaws, and Manual of Policies and Procedures, a chargeable offense according to Article III, Section 1(d)(1) of the General Bylaws when they violated the Constitution and MPP sections by failing to provide me a fair hearing regarding my charges against the Communications Officer in accordance with Article III, Sec. 7 of the NARA Constitution.

The committee was in consensus that we do not believe FW Caldera's actions constituted a chargeable offense.

Per the NARA Constitution in Article III, Rights of Members, Sec. 7(e):

*"All officers elected by referendum, all appointees of the GEB, all committee chairs elected by the General Convention, all members designated to manage assets of the General Administration, and all members serving on a union body formed by the GEB, General Administration, or General Convention are subject to Article III, Section 7 of the Constitution."*

As the Communications Officer was hired by the GEB and not appointed, and because this position does not manage assets of the General Administration, we believe that the charges against FW Baru as a staffer did not meet requirements for chargeable offenses in his position as a NARA officer. A hearing was not necessary, as the charges themselves were not applicable to the staff member in question.

Whether or not the details of these charges are valid is not the place of this Committee; however, the IWW Constitution, as of June 2021, does not have provisions for charging staff members like the Communications Officer outside of the grievance procedure provided within their contracts. FW Walker was given the option to pursue charges in accordance with the grievance procedures outlined in FW Baru's contract—which he acknowledged in an email on May 26th, saying, "Vice GEB Chairperson Selena advised me that this is the proper procedure for filing a complaint against Maxim and Tony in an email on April 5 2021,"—but chose to ignore this option rather than pursue his grievances through the appropriate channels. Thus it cannot be said that FW Caldera's actions left FW Walker bereft of options.

Per the union's attorney Mike Perisson: "Can charges be brought against members for their actions taken as IWW staff? My opinion is that they cannot be, and should not be. First, the bylaws allow for charges against members, but appear to be silent on the issue of how to handle people who have dual relationships with the IWW. As such, you have authority to interpret and apply the rules, consistent with the bylaws. In my opinion, allowing charges to be brought against 'members' for their 'staff' conduct would be problematic for a number of reasons:

One—it confuses HR issues with membership issues.

Two—and relatedly—it would expose the IWW as an employer to potential liability if it took an adverse action against someone for their conduct as an employee.

Three—and relatedly—it could create contract rights for staff beyond what was anticipated. If you mix employment issues with membership issues, then you could inadvertently open the door to staff asserting that the bylaws (including grievance processes) create contract rights for them as employees.

To restate my opinion: the bylaws do not address this issue, you therefore have the authority to interpret and apply the bylaws in this situation, and the bylaws do not—and should not—allow members to bring charges against other members for their conduct in performing their paid staff duties. This opinion does not relate to elected officers."

The committee's recommendation is that the General Executive Board move to dismiss this complaint on the basis that the allegation is not a chargeable offense due to the details surrounding the situation. The committee believes that the actions taken by FW Caldera were what she thought best complied with the worker's contract. In absence of instruction in the bylaws, FW Caldera chose to interpret the most relevant binding document in this situation. While some members of the committee believe that it may have been preferable for a charges committee to have declined these charges in her stead, her decision was made in good faith.

As the bylaws do not currently contain a procedure in terms of filing grievances with staff members, it was recommended by Mike Perisson that we submit a resolution to the Convention rectifying the situation, which the 2021 GEB has done.

The Complaints Committee, composed of Jacki W, Sabrina C, and Alice M, reviewed the complaint and the corresponding constitutional language.

The complaint alleges "1. FW Liss willfully failed to comply with the IWW Constitution, General Bylaws, and Manual of Policies and Procedures, a chargeable offense according to Article III, Section 1(d)(1) of the General Bylaws, when they violated the Constitution and MPP sections regarding the structure and operation of the Communication Department Board and the GEB proceedings.

2. FW Liss willfully failed to comply with the IWW Constitution, General Bylaws, and Manual of Policies and Procedures, a chargeable offense according to Article III, Section 1(d)(1) of the General Bylaws when they violated the Constitution and MPP sections by failing to provide me a fair hearing regarding my charges against the Communications Officer in accordance with Article III, Sec. 7 of the NARA Constitution."

#### Charge 1: Communications Department Chair Appointment

The committee was in consensus that this charge was false in nature.

Per the NARA Constitution Article XV, Section 4(b): "(b) The CDB shall elect its own Chair by a simple majority. Only members of the CDB elected by referendum may serve as its Chair."

As a referendum has not passed since formation of the Communications Department, and the CDB is unable to elect a chair, and a chair has not been appointed by the GEB, this charge is not based in fact. Liss's email said that Maxim was acting as the chair, but this is not the same as an appointment. This is not an unprecedented situation, as committees must still find ways to complete their work despite having vacancies, and have previously had unappointed members serve in temporary acting roles to accomplish this. As FW Baru is an employee of the Communications Department, he can be tasked with the work of the CDB chair to keep the committee afloat in the absence of a chair, however FW Baru is not and is ineligible to be the chair of the CDB.

And per the NARA General Bylaws Article III, Section 6(c): "Complaints shall be related to matters that impact the union. A defendant is innocent until proven guilty. The onus of proof is on the plaintiff to provide sufficient oral, written or other-wise relevant evidence to the committee that:

- i. the complaint is directly related to the union's affairs and the rights of its members, and
- ii. the complaint has a basis in fact."

The committee's recommendation is that the General Executive Board move to dismiss this complaint on the basis that the allegation is not based in fact.

#### Charge 2: Refusal to Hear Charges Against a NARA Officer

The committee was in consensus that we do not believe FW Waters Hyde's actions constituted a chargeable offense.

Per the NARA Constitution in Article III, Rights of Members, Sec. 7(e):  
*"All officers elected by referendum, all appointees of the GEB, all committee chairs elected by the General Convention, all members designated to manage assets of the General Administration, and all members serving on a union body formed by the GEB, General Administration, or General Convention are subject to Article III, Section 7 of the Constitution."*

As the Communications Officer was hired by the GEB and not appointed, and because this position does not manage assets of the General Administration, we believe that the charges against FW Baru as a staffer did not meet requirements for chargeable offenses in his position as a NARA officer, and a hearing was not necessary.

Whether or not the details of these charges are valid is not the place of this Committee; however, the IWW Constitution, as of June 2021, does not have provisions for charging staff members like the Communications Officer outside of the grievance procedure provided within their contracts. FW Walker was given the option to pursue charges in accordance with the grievance procedures outlined in FW Baru's contract—which he acknowledged in an email on May 26th, saying, "Vice GEB Chairperson Selena advised me that this is the proper procedure for filing a complaint against Maxim and Tony in an email on April 5 2021,"—but chose to ignore this option rather than pursue his grievances through the appropriate channels. Thus it cannot be said that FW Waters Hyde's decision to reject the charges actually left FW Walker bereft of options.

Per the union's attorney Mike Persoon: "Can charges be brought against members for their actions taken as IWW staff? My opinion is that they cannot be, and should not be. First, the bylaws allow for charges against members, but appear to be silent on the issue of how to handle people who have dual relationships with the IWW. As such, you have authority to interpret and apply the rules, consistent with the bylaws. In my opinion, allowing charges to be brought against "members" for their "staff" conduct would be problematic for a number of reasons:

One—it confuses HR issues with membership issues.

Two—and relatedly—it would expose the IWW as an employer to potential liability if it took an adverse action against someone for their conduct as an employee.

Three—and relatedly—it could create contract rights for staff beyond what was anticipated. If you mix employment issues with membership issues, then you could inadvertently open the door to staff asserting that the bylaws (including grievance processes) create contract rights for them as employees.

To restate my opinion: the bylaws do not address this issue, you therefore have the authority to interpret and apply the bylaws in this situation, and the bylaws do not—and should not—allow members to bring charges against other members for their conduct in performing their paid staff duties. This opinion does not relate to elected officers."

The committee's recommendation is that the General Executive Board move to dismiss this complaint on the basis that the allegation is not a chargeable offense due to the details surrounding the situation. The committee believes that the actions taken by FW Waters Hyde were what she thought best complied with the worker's contract. In absence of instruction in the bylaws, FW Waters Hyde chose to interpret the most relevant binding document in this situation. While some members of the committee believe that it may have been preferable for a charges committee to have declined these charges in her stead, her decision was made in good faith.

As the bylaws do not currently contain a procedure in terms of filing grievances with staff members, it was recommended by Mike Persoon that we submit a resolution to convention rectifying the situation, which the 2021 GEB has done.

### New Charters This Month

None this month.

### Membership Discussion

Note from the GST:

The policy on GOB submissions can be found on page 3 of this and every GOB. As GOB editor, it is my responsibility to ensure no submissions are printed that contain personal attacks. I define a personal attack as calling an individual a name, such as "FW x is a meanie" but do not believe saying "FW x's behavior was mean" or "FW x's statement was mean" constitutes a personal attack. As of 13 June 2021, no criticisms of union staff are allowed in the GOB by order of the IWW General Executive Board.

The GEB voted, virtually unanimous, on JW-11, "Move that we direct the GST not to publish criticism of staff members in their capacity as staffers in the General Organizing Bulletin." On June 13th, just two days before the June GOB went out.

It is against the very nature of our union to prohibit speaking out against the work of union members so long as it is done free of personal attack. It's what we are fighting against. We reserve, and absolutely must have, the right to provide commentary on the work performed by union members that is free from personal attack. Even if that commentary is criticism of the work performed by staff.

Besides, our Constitution (General Bylaws, Article III, Section 7(a)) states that "all members are equal under the IWW Constitution". Nobody is above the general membership, as that just creates another hierarchy to replace that of the bosses and workers we want to see eradicated. Staffers cannot, constitutionally, have privilege that puts them above the other members just because they are staffers. It would be like being unable to comment on the behavior of your direct supervisor because they're your boss and will... decide they don't need you... if you say something about them they don't like....

That's what equal treatment means... no discrimination and no special privilege. The motion JW-11 must therefore be declared unconstitutional and struck.

Lauren Pullen

At the 28 June, 2021 meeting of the General Executive Board, a petition by rank and file members of the IWW to recall GEB members Lisa Waters-Hyde, Selena Caldera, Jack West, and Scarlett Gillespie for violations of the IWW Constitution was presented.

In response, the GEB members—accused and under a petition for a recall referendum—tried to block the General Secretary Treasurer from sending any mass communications to the membership regarding the recall petition (something he is constitutionally required to do during a recall); this motion also applied to membership coordinator Warren, which is a direct violation of the GHQ staff contract, a unilateral change to working conditions without bargaining—in other words, the GEB engaged something that can only be called "union busting" in the course of an attempt to destroy a bottom-up challenge to their own power and authority over the union's rank and file and its financial and other resources.

I find these actions to be unconscionable and entirely opposed to the ideals and goals of the One Big Union, and further evidence of the need for the immediate recall and replacement of the GEB and greater transparency in all future actions of the GEB.

A summary of evidence can be found at: <<https://tinyurl.com/recall2021gebsummary>>; the full list of evidence can be found at: <<https://tinyurl.com/recall2021gebevidence>>; the petition can be found at: <<https://tinyurl.com/recall2021geb>>.

Kevin Mellis, X-389227

In the name of preserving democratic unionism, I recommend that the General Executive Board be abolished and replaced with a direct democratic system. Recent events have demonstrated that entrusting authority figures to uphold the values of the IWW was a foolish decision. It would be best for the rank-and-file members of our organization to govern themselves.

Rather than having GEB members decide the IWW's budget plans, the money from membership dues would be redistributed to local IWW branches in direct proportion to their share of IWW membership. For example, if the NYC branch of the IWW has three percent of the total IWW membership, then it would receive three percent of the total budget. Individual branches would use these funds however they see fit.

The distribution of funds would be handled by unpaid administrators who would do this as volunteer work using their personal financial resources. They would have no decision making power and would only exist to facilitate the activities of local branches. They would be mandated to not use any money from the budget of the IWW for any reason other than passing it along to the local branches. Ignoring this mandate would result in their immediate termination. Such administrators would be recallable at any time should a petition for their recall containing a number of signatures no less than five percent of the total IWW membership from IWW members in good standing be submitted to [ghqwww@gmail.com](mailto:ghqwww@gmail.com).

In the event that far-reaching decisions that affect the entire organization need to be made, petitions for referendums can be sent to [ghqwww@gmail.com](mailto:ghqwww@gmail.com). They would need a number of signatures no less than five percent of the total IWW membership from IWW members in good standing to be eligible for consideration. Proposals would be checked by administrators to verify that they have enough signatures and the ones which are eligible would be presented at the next Direct Democratic IWW meeting, which would occur semi-monthly and replace the current GEB meetings. All IWW members in good standing would be eligible to vote during these meetings. Any referendum that receives a majority of "yes" votes would be enacted and facilitated by administrators.

For example, if the NYC branch of the IWW was behaving in an inappropriate manner, someone could submit an eligible petition for a referendum to defund the NYC branch. If the majority of voters said "yes" to defunding the NYC branch, administrators would simply not send the NYC branch their share of the IWW budget and instead redistribute the NYC share to other branches.

The IWW adopting a direct democratic system that relies on participatory governance is the only way to prevent authority figures within the organization from undermining our common goals.

Mathais Baker

Please consider this my formal resignation from the GEB. This is not an admission of guilt, but rather the result of the targeted abuse and harassment I have endured over the last six months. I believe that the decisions that we've made have been the best possible decisions for this union, given the sheer number of unprecedented issues this GEB has run into. I do think that we need to change the culture within this union if we are ever going to have a fighting chance of ending capitalism, but this will have to be done by someone else.

Jacki West

Why I Support the Recall:  
An Open letter to My Fellow Workers

My fellow workers, our union is facing a crisis that is both unprecedented in the union's history, and if not overcome, would mean the death of our union in all but name.

I, like many of you, wanted to stay focused on the work of building a militant working-class movement that finds its power by being rooted on the shop floor and within our industries.

I too wanted to avoid the "drama" and "politics" of NARA, but what is happening is neither of those. What we are seeing now is a complete structural overhaul of our union and the outright abandonment of the values and principles of our revolutionary industrial union.

So many and so extensive are these changes that have come in rapid succession that I as a member haven't the time or ability to provide even a concise account of all the repression, corruption and constitutional violations that have occurred. Any attempt to provide one will amount to a short novel.

What I will say is that in my view, the actions of the current GEB have demonstrated a pattern of corruption that has rendered the highest body of our union illegitimate. That members of the GEB have become drunk on power that they have created for themselves in direct conflict with our constitution. They have done so with the assistance of lawyers that have been paid for with our dues.

They have consulted with lawyers at least twice to curtail the rights of the rank and file. They have done so at the financial expense of our union and to the complete detriment of our union's democracy.

Their first time was to see how far they could go without violating the law in order to restrict the membership's freedom of speech and our criticism of their conduct. They demonstrated further disdain for the rank and file when they sought out and acquired a "legal interpretation" of our constitution in order to obstruct a legitimate recall - the most precious democratic right an organization can possess.

Even then, the GEB disregarded the advice of the lawyer and decided to have paid staff facilitate the recall while under the direct supervision of the very GEB members that are being recalled. Considering that how the staffer in question gained their paid position is one of the misconducts that initiated the recall, this represents a clear conflict of interest.

This conflict of interest bore fruit when at the direction of the GEB, so many members who signed the petition were unilaterally disqualified without notice or explanation. This is a clear attempt to disenfranchise the membership in order to prevent a recall that they know they'll lose.

I strongly believe that this GEB is corrupt and illegitimate because it is rife with political nepotism and self-interested officers putting their own career aspirations above the well-being of the union. This GEB handed out not one, but two, paid positions to an officer and political ally of theirs, the chair of the ODB. After which, they banned any criticisms of that officer's conduct while "acting in the role of staff".

They have continued to hand out paid positions to political allies and the only qualifications that seem to matter are that they are young white "professionals" with vague made up qualifications, and most importantly, loyalty to this GEB.

My fellow workers you have got to understand, we are not talking stipends, living wage, etc. We're talking upwards to the tune of \$63K U.S. plus benefits and PTO for work that amounts to little more than posting on social media and responding to emails in a timely fashion. This is because they created jobs where there is no work, and now need to take control over our work in order to justify having a job that shouldn't even exist.

At the time of writing this, the GEB continues to withhold from the membership the sweetheart contracts that they signed with these friends of theirs. On top of that, they have simultaneously banned the membership from even asking what it is they are getting paid to do.

If creating these useless and lecherous jobs were not enough, these jobs were created by and for people of a certain class, some may refer to them as the Professional Managerial Class and for them, the IWW is only a real union if they can get a job out of it.

Per usual, the workers with broken bodies, the struggling single mothers or our fellow workers on fixed pay are not eligible for these jobs. Why? Because they are not considered to be "qualified" enough to post on. We who have neither a degree or the vague made up qualifications of these young and aspiring professors. They are even using filtering software in the application process and tell me, my fellow workers, who do you think it is that they are trying to filter out?

Fellow workers there is so, so much more. To put it simply, there is rot in our union and it must be cut out before it spreads and takes root.

For those of you who believe that this could never happen in the IWW, I must emphatically tell you that you are wrong. This monumental shift that we are seeing is precisely what has led to, in every other union, the downward spiral into cross class-collaboration and bureaucratic authoritarianism. All of which has only served to further the subordination and disempowerment of the working-class.

My fellow workers we cannot abandon the IWW's vision of a self emancipated working-class. The working-class whose hands, and through whose hands alone, can fundamentally transform this society for the good of us all and the generations to come.

The only thing that makes the IWW revolutionary is that it is made up of workers organizing themselves, administering our own affairs and choosing our own battles.

The IWW has always been by the workers for all workers and to this end, we must support the recall and show no hesitancy in driving out the corrupting influences of careerism.

For rank and file democracy  
and a Revolutionary IWW.

JW X-381628  
IU 330

Dear Fellow Workers of the General Executive Board,

We the workers of the Houston General Membership Branch call on you to reverse your recent resolution passed on June 28th which limited the ability to send mass communications from the general union to the Communications Officer.

As a new branch we have been attempting for the last few months to make at-large members aware of our existence and invite them to join with us in fighting for the working class. As part of these efforts, we reached out to GHQ on June 30th asking for them to send a mass email to the remaining at-large members whom we've been unable to contact. We were told that because of this recent change GHQ was unable to assist us.

Our success as a movement relies on us gathering together and organizing en masse. Truly united we stand, and divided we fall. As a union our stated goal is abolishing the wage system and building the infrastructure of a new society built on worker power. To do this we must be allowed to organize our fellow workers. This action has directly hindered our branch's ability to do so. As such it is our responsibility to speak out against the resolution.

We ask that you reverse this ruling immediately and restore to all general union staff and leadership the ability to send mass communications within the context of their responsibilities. The consequences of this change will continue to hinder our ability as a union to organize if allowed to stand. We invite you to join hands with us, and to ease the path ahead for our working-class struggle by removing this obstacle.

In solidarity,  
The Houston GMB

FW Brad Walker should be immediately suspended, if not ejected, from the union. He outed a sex worker who is a fellow worker of the union and potentially revealed them to the authorities. When Brad's child accidentally saw a picture of the sex worker on his computer, who is a trans woman, Brad charged the sex worker with sexual harassment using the LGBTIQ panic defense. This is recognized as heinous and currently banned in several states, including the state Brad himself lives in. This is violent behavior and endangers sex workers and trans people in our union. We should reject homophobia and transphobia in our union.

Jason Krpan should be immediately suspended if not expelled from the union. On the forum under Convention Covid Safety, he posted, "But where... Where... WHERE—a is the the Convention plain ing Committee empowered to tell members what to do with their bodies? Where?" This type of thinking during a pandemic and during a global public health crisis is dangerous and has led to the deaths of thousands of working-class people. IWW fellow workers should be expected to follow basic rules of health safety during a pandemic like washing your hands, wearing a mask, doing their best to social distance, and get vaccinated if/when they are able to. This person should not be allowed to any IWW meeting or event in person and should be barred from the convention.

Alcha Belabbes

My grandfather would roll over in his grave if he saw what is happening in the IWW now. My grandfather, Vincent Raymond Dunne, learned organizing and union philosophy from his time in the IWW in the Montana lumber camps just after the turn of the century. I joined the TC branch in 2009. I joined because it's the real deal and I do

not like where it is headed now. Recall the business union wannabes.

FW Linda Leighton x370251

Whereas: every GOB going back at least 25 years has included essentially the same policy statement: "By long-standing IWW policy, submissions may not include personal attacks against other members, (except that members shall have complete freedom to criticize the conduct of union officials without censorship, subject to the provisions of By-Laws Article III, Section 7(a))."

Whereas: the IWW constitution states: "The GST shall publish all submissions received by the published monthly deadline, deleting only epithets and/or personal attacks against other members (except that members shall have complete freedom to criticize the conduct of union officials without censorship, subject to the provisions of Bylaws Article III Section 7a)."

Whereas: The General Organizing Bulletin belongs first to the membership of the IWW.

Whereas: the GEB voted on June 10th to "direct the GST not to publish criticism of staff members in their capacity as staffers in the General Organizing Bulletin"

Whereas: context of the GEB motion is criticism published in the April 2021 GOB of a statement by the Communications Officer. The officer said to the Industrial Worker editor, an unpaid and elected position, "You know for a fact that we have the support of the Executive Board. If you are not willing to be a team player, then we will have to recommend the GEB re-evaluate the personnel structure of this department. This is the last time I want to speak with you about the subject matter of the chain of command of this department."

Whereas: The Communications Officer is a paid and unelected officer who is considered by the GEB to be protected from criticism by their recent motion. This means that if the GEB motion were to go into effect, for the first time in at least decades, members will not be allowed to submit a statement to the GOB making the point that such actions of the Communications Officer are inappropriate.

Whereas: Even conservative business unions allow members to be critical of officers.

Whereas: Any such restriction on member rights to criticize officers in the GOB requires a constitutional amendment to be decided democratically by the entire membership.

Therefore: the Seattle GMB, in a non-binding resolution, objects to this overreaching act of the General Executive Board in restricting the rights of members and encourages anyone who wants to restrict the rights of members in this way to follow our constitution and submit it as any other constitutional amendment to be decided on by the membership democratically.

Expell Liss Walter Hyde, Selena Caldera, Scarlett Gillespie, and Max Baru

I voted for two of the GEB members targeted for recall, as well Max Baru, but I now support not only recalling them but also expelling them. It is a severe conflict of interest for the General Executive Board to be making motions on its own recall. Not only have they done that, they have taken over administration of the recall themselves (in violation of the constitution).

The constitution requires the GST to send notification that we are having a recall election within three days of receiving a petition. The night of June 28th, the same day the recall petition was submitted, the GEB voted to forbid the GST from sending any mass communications to the membership, preventing him from sending the notification. In the meeting FW Gillespie said this motion was a response to the recall.

If the GEB believed the majority of members supported them they would want to get the recall election over with as soon as possible as it would clearly demonstrate they have majority support. They know most of us no longer back them so they are resorting to Trump-style conspiracy theories to delay or stop it. They have already delayed it beyond what is allowed in the constitution.

The GEB's plan to throw out signatures if we do not respond to an e-mail (an e-mail they can't even verify we received) is a transparent attempt to find an excuse to delay or stop the recall. E-mails get sent to spam or promotion folders, or may not be responded to for other reasons. Furthermore, they did not e-mail everyone who signed the petition and the e-mail itself is misleading as it incorrectly implies you can verify your signature by signing the original petition again.

The purpose of making up this whole e-mail signature verification thing is to have a pretext to stop or at least delay the recall (as well as referenda they don't like). Make people de-facto sign the petition twice, maybe the second time will slip by.

Not a single person has come forward to claim that their name on the petition was forged. It makes no sense to forge signatures on a recall petition as you will just lose the vote and strengthen the other side. It is also difficult, as the petition includes the member number of everyone who signed, not just their name. You can't just write random names.

Additionally,

## This section removed by the GEB for criticizing Organizing Director Max Baru in his capacity as staff

For the OBU,  
x38822

n regard to the recall petition, I have remained silent on this matter but I do want to make a response to these claims. I will respond to each part of the recall petition individually, though I will note that this is just my viewpoint and what impacted my votes. I am not speaking on behalf of the rest of the GEB or the other members that are named on the recall petition.

1. Willful refusal to allow an emergency resolution.
  - The original author of the petition was asked if it would be okay to delay the referendum until October, and he was amenable to this.
  - There is no language for emergency referendums in the constitution aside from recall of officers. Because the last referendum had just passed a month prior to receiving the petition, and there was no new information (i.e., there hasn't yet been an international convention with WISERA), we chose to wait on this until the normal annual referendum.
  - I also want to point out that we have to pay about \$1 per member for every referendum. My reasoning at the time was that I didn't think spending an extra \$8500 to answer a question we had just voted on was a good place to spend union funds.
  - 2. Engaging in secret meetings.
    - This claim is false, using digital collaborative platforms aren't meetings. Our entire slack has been uploaded to the forum for membership to view and we don't use it anymore. The Trello boards were also posted on the forum as screenshots.
    - The 2020 GEB had a private facebook chat as well as an Asana, so the 2021 GEB using slack and trello is not very different from what other GEBs have done.
  - 3. Violation of Members' Rights to Freedom of Association and Communication.
    - I want to point out here that none of these claims have to do with me directly. I am not a moderator of the forum aside from in the GEB section.
    - 4. Undermining the Work of the Duly Elected General Secretary-Treasurer
      - I again had nothing to do with this. In fact, I asked the union's attorney about this specifically because I had no idea where this was coming from.
    - 5. Inequitable Hiring Practices.
      - The 2021 GEB was tasked with carrying out what was passed in referendum in 2020, including hiring the two paid staff members for the Communications Department. Everyone on the hiring committee was just doing what we were assigned to do to the best of our abilities. None of us are HR experts nor have we hired anyone in the past.
      - In terms of it being inequitable, only men applied for these positions. I can't force other people to apply for these jobs.
    - The GEB did vote to post the job announcement in the GOB. The GST failed to do this. If he was able to send an email out to the entire membership, he had the information to post in the GOB.
    - 6. Creating Unelected Salaried Positions in the General Administration
      - The external organizer team director is not a part of the general administration.
      - The GEB did not hire the external organizer team director, that was a committee of the OGB.
      - The GEB also did not create this position. This was already in the budget for the 20-21 fiscal year, and the GEB voted to give the OGB access to these funds to hire someone.
      - The current external organizer team director is not continuing in this role in the coming year.
    - 7. Prematurely Ending Audit Initiated by the 2020 GEB of the Tampa Bay GMB
      - The committee also recommended we give the audit to our union's accountants, which we voted to do. Because the trusteeship has not officially been signed off by the trustees, the audit is still ongoing.
    - 8. Refusing to Hear Charges Filed against a General Officer of the IWW
      - The charges in question are not against a general officer. They are against a paid staff member of the union, which is very different.
      - Our lawyer recommended that we cannot subject staff members to the same charges process and that we should draft language for the bylaws, which we have submitted as a resolution to convention.
      - The employee in question can be charged in his role as an officer of the IWW, but not as a staff member.
      - Per the union's attorney Mike Persoon:
        - o "Can charges be brought against members for their actions taken as IWW staff? My opinion is that they cannot be, and should not be. First, the bylaws allow for charges against members, but appear to be silent on the issue of how to handle people who have dual relationships with the IWW. As such, you have authority to interpret and apply the rules, consistent with the bylaws. In my opinion, allowing charges to be brought against "members" for their "staff" conduct would be problematic for a number of reasons:
        - o One—it confuses HR issues with membership issues.
        - o Two—and relatedly—it would expose the IWW as an employer to potential liability if it took an adverse action against someone for their conduct as an employee.
        - o Three—and relatedly—it could create contract rights for staff beyond what was anticipated. If you mix employment issues with membership issues, then you could inadvertently open the door to staff asserting that the bylaws (including grievance processes) create contract rights for them as employees.
        - o To restate my opinion: the bylaws do not address this issue, you therefore have the authority to interpret and apply the bylaws in this situation, and the bylaws do not -- and should not -- allow members to bring charges against other members for their conduct in performing their paid staff duties. This opinion does not relate to elected officers."
    - 9. Reckless Spending of IWW Members Dues Money
      - These positions were proposed but are now completely off the table because of the budget deficit.

## 10. Unconstitutional Expansion of Power of the GEB Unions

• I abstained on this motion and had nothing to do with it.

• It is common for GEB liaisons to make recommendations/interpretations of the constitution. This motion isn't an expansion, just clarifying what already takes place. I'm also not sure what the distinction between guidance vs instruction is. They seem to mean the same thing, and it's just semantics to argue otherwise.

## 11. Declaring Canada Exempt from the IWW

• I abstained on this motion as well. I had nothing to do with it.

• To say that the GEB gave all of Canada blanket permission to disregard the IWW constitution is a gross exaggeration of what happened. This was a memo, that Canadian FWs requested, that no Canadian organizing campaigns have even attempted to utilize since it was approved.

## 12. Unilateral and Undemocratic Changes to the North American Regional Administration

• There's no examples of this, or any evidence supporting this.

• I don't understand how any of these could be considered "undemocratic," when most of the things listed in the petition are things that the GEB voted on. The term "unilateral" is also confusing, as the petition is to remove 4 members of the GEB, not just 1. Finally, since this petition came out, I have continued to do my work as a GEB member, having calls with my assigned branches and committees, despite all of this. I plan to continue moving the work along the best I can. I hope that some members can see this petition for what it is.

Jacqueline West, MS  
General Executive Board  
Industrial Workers of the World  
Richmond GMB  
email: jg1567@outlook.com

Do you think your vote should count in your union? The accused members of the current GEB, subject to the recall petition which has circulated with strong evidence against them, don't think so. Not if you sign a petition calling for their recall - they'll argue every single signature was forged, on no basis at all. It seems an obvious conflict of interest to give the accused power to decide on whether the petition against them is legitimate, but that's where we are. With the unprecedented attempt at censorship made in recent GEB motions passed against criticizing staff and this suppression of the democratic recall process, every wobbly should fear what our union is becoming if we allow this to continue. Even if you have no problem with everything else the recall petition alleges and provides evidence of - the malfeasance and embezzlement with the money that comes from your dues, personal attacks on fellow workers who criticized their decisions, avoiding the proper scrutiny and oversight on their executive powers - you should be deeply concerned by the attempt to invalidate the signatures and thus the voice and vote of 350 of your fellow workers. Join the call for recall of 2021 GEB members Liss Waters-Hyde, Selena Caldera, Scarlett Gillespie, and Jacki West. Review the evidence and decide for yourself: [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U72ap6GDoq7XuWbL-1RX\\_KNYCNe0VVS/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U72ap6GDoq7XuWbL-1RX_KNYCNe0VVS/view)

I am very concerned about the undemocratic actions of the General Executive Board and their appointed Communications Officer. It is unacceptable that officers of the GEB are dictating the terms of the recall against them.

The GEB has disallowed the elected General Secretary-Treasurer from sending mass email to the membership and passed that on to the (unelected, paid) Communications Officer instead. Which means the Communications Officer is now the one tasked with communicating to the membership about the recall. An email from the Communications Officer was sent to signers of the recall petition to confirm their signature, but only some. Making people who have signed the petition have to respond again in order to be counted is already adding an additional hurdle, but whatever. I never received a confirmation, despite being in good standing, and, as of this writing, the Communications Officer has not responded to any of my three emails about this. I have no way of knowing if my signature was counted. I know that many others have been similarly ignored.

It is also a huge problem that the GEB officers in question are the only ones allowed to speak to the union's attorney. And that there is apparently no way to hold unelected paid positions like the Communication Officer accountable. And that there is an increasing number of paid staff and no one seems to know exactly how many. This is not a good look.

Regardless of how one feels about the recall itself, it is the right of the IWW membership. Disenfranchising members in this way is against the IWW Constitution and against labor law. If the GEB members want to fight the recall, they can do that by reaching out to members and making their case before the recall vote. Instead, they continue to strengthen the case for the necessity of the recall.

- FW Chelsea, Seattle

## Fellow Workers,

I am extremely distressed over the actions of FW Selena in her handling of the correctly submitted recall petition. By overseeing the process, she is in blatant violation of the Manual of Policies and Procedure Section 1-2.17.b.iv, which outlines that GEB members must recuse themselves when there is a conflict of interest.

FW Selena has repeatedly said that there is no official conflict of interest policy within the IWW. This is factually untrue, and any member who looks at the publicly available MPP will see as such. The issue at hand is that there is not a conflict of interest procedure that is friendly to FW Selena's actions; thus, she willfully pretends none

exists.

Continuing to act with such a conflict of interest poses a very real threat for the IWW as her, Liss, and Scarlett's continued supervision over their own recall poses a very grave risk of LMRDA violations that, if a disgruntled member were to bring suit over, could have extremely costly repercussions for the organization.

The fact remains that FW Selena remains the sole point of contact with the General Administration's lawyers; a very dangerous situation that has been pointed out by numerous other fellow workers in the GEB over previous months. Now, more than ever, the risk that this Fellow Worker could lead us into illegal acts should be acknowledged and rectified.

FW Selena has a legal and ethical obligation to recuse herself from all conversations with the Lawyer regarding the recall, and all of those facing recall have a legal and ethical obligation to recuse themselves from all decision-making regarding the recall. Every hour that they refuse to do so threatens the legal stability of our organization.

For the Works,  
Evan K.  
x406170

## Campaigns Committee Report to the Seattle GMB, June 2021

The Campaigns Committee is an elected committee of the Seattle GMB that coordinates all support for workplace organizing within the branch. We coordinate and report on the work of six trained "organizing mentors" in addition to the six members of the committee. Any worker who reaches out to us with interest in organizing is assigned an external organizer who will meet with them on a regular basis as long as their campaign continues. We also lead the planning of OT101s, which we hold once a quarter.

Committee Members: Alana L, Bob K, Karsten S, Luke C, Jenni Z, and Tegan M.  
Committee Chair: Tegan M

## Campaign Updates

## U620 Museum (Karsten, Jenni)

Karsten: They continue to have good 1on1s with coworkers in other departments. It's really encouraging and exciting to see their very thorough and thoughtful reportbacks on the 1on1s they're doing. This committee has been stagnant numbers-wise for a while, but the confidence and skills I'm seeing them show as organizers is something that can't be quantified. It's exciting to see them really take their 1on1s seriously and I see them growing and bringing in new people from outside their social circles in a way they were never able to before, even when the committee was much larger.

Jenni: shop delegates have been doing lots of 1on1s and have been having good conversations with their coworkers and each other. They've been walking to the bus stop together everyday after work, and have been strategizing and thinking big picture stuff. At the last meeting we talked about the tricky situation they're in with identifying more workers to bring on in their department—the museum switched from contingent to temporary workers, so a lot of staff will be leaving in October, but are being treated well with benefits until then (contingent staff was treated poorly). So they talked about how to get temp workers involved. They also discussed the grey areas of supervisor type staff without hire/fire. A grievance they and all workers (including supervisors) have is that the museum opened early but that wasn't communicated to anyone, so all of the departments were confused, frantic, and angry. Overall part of a pattern of bad communication.

3 RCHs  
105 workers in shop  
3 workers taken OT101  
Contact list: yes  
Social map: yes  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 6/1/2021

## U460 Central Co-op (Karsten, Tegan)

Karsten: So far we've Tentatively Agreed (TA'd) on Union Security, Managements Rights, Filling of Vacancies, Seniority, and "General Provisions"

-FW Llesly D was elected shop steward.

-Llesly and I met in-person for the first time at the Coop and talked with our worker in the maintenance dept to investigate a potential grievance with his schedule. He was not getting his schedule the required time in advance and had his hours cut. He talked to his manager about it and the problem is now resolved. Llesly also sent an email to HR, not filing a grievance, rather just to note the issue and make sure it doesn't happen again.

-Next bargaining session is 6/21/2021 where we plan to bring a counter-proposal

Tegan: Held bargaining sessions on May 17 and June 7. We have tentative agreements on many of the non economic parts of the contract. Areas where we haven't come to agreement include the grievance process, no-strike clause, inclusion of temporary workers in the contract, and prohibition on requiring workers to take drug

and alcohol tests. One worker who was out on long-term leave has returned to the shop.

5 RCHs  
5 workers in shop  
0 workers taken OT101  
Contact list: yes  
Social map: no  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 6/8/2021

#### Emerging Campaigns

##### IU650 Housing Non-profit (Karsten, Tegan)

Karsten: They continue to discuss and iron out details for a grievance demand regarding job descriptions and role clarity

-We are planning on doing a modified section of the OT101 with them to include an introduction to solidarity unionism, direct action, and labor law.

-I gave a brief training to their two elected delegates on their delegate roles, including how to sign people up into the union.

Tegan: Having regular meetings every two weeks. At the last meeting, discussed the issue of being expected to join meetings with outside organizations with very little notice, which disrupts both their work and their personal lives when these meetings are outside of work hours. They are talking about writing a demand letter on this addressed to their executive director stating boundaries and the amount of advance notice they want for schedule changes.

6 RCHs  
8 workers in shop  
3 workers taken OT101  
Contact list: yes  
Social map: yes  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 5/26/2021

##### IU660 Bike Shop (Karsten, Bob)

Karsten: The two members in the shop continue to hold regular 1on1s.

-Added Connie as an additional organizing mentor. I plan to step back from this campaign with her as my replacement. I think she will do a great job, she already showed herself to be very capable in the first meeting I attended with her and them.

-The committee intends to do an OT101 late June/early July and is planning to address a small issue regarding safety.

Bob: 2 committee meetings held since last report. 1:1s progressing, many are follow-ups. Planning OT101 for group of coworkers for late June/early July. Shop committee meetings moved to every other Monday beginning 5/31.

2 RCHs  
45 workers in shop  
2 workers taken OT101  
Contact List - Names: Complete - Phone: Complete - Address: 15%  
Social map: yes  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 5/31/2021

##### IU590 AWU (Luke, Addie)

The Committee is gearing up for its first direct action. Signed up one worker who asked to join.

Luke: Following up on my report about AWU's direct action planning. I met with the core committee from roughly 1:30-2pm today (6/10). We went over the components of direct action, turning it into an activity of filling out a spreadsheet linked below. As there are some components still being worked on the sheet isn't completely filled in. Next step is they will be meeting with the rest of the folks assessed as 1s, going over the filled out sheet, filling in the blanks, and voting on anything that's currently undecided.

Addie: Met with the campaign for our monthly meeting. Work continues on achieving their current 3 month goals including attempting to win one high-winnability grievance. The organizing committee still stands at only three members after 2 other members left and continues, getting these spots filled ASAP so the rest of the committee doesn't also fall victim to burn out.

# of RCHs: 6  
# of workers in the shop: ~250

# of workers taken an OT101: 7  
Contact List - Names: ~250 - Phone: ? - Address: ?  
Social Chart: yes  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 5-26-2021

##### IU590 Incognito (Luke)

Haven't met with the campaign yet. One worker did have a 1on1. Next meeting is on the 14th.

# of RCHs: 2  
# of workers in the shop: 60  
# of workers taken an OT101: 2  
Contact List - Names: 60 - Phone: 12 - Address: 48  
Social Chart: yes  
Regular 1on1s: yes  
Last meeting date: 5-11-2021

#### Organizing Leads

We are currently supporting 10 organizing leads in the following IUs: 660, 620, 650, 510, 440, 640, 460, 420, 610. There are 37 IWWs currently organizing in their workplaces.

#### Committee Expenditures

Renewed monthly subscription to Miro, going to keep it and evaluate as more of our organizing mentors get a chance to use it  
Authorized up to \$200 for printing and snacks for our in-person OT101 for the bike shop campaign

#### Committee Updates

We will be holding a Seattle Organizing Summit on June 26 for our members who are organizing in their workplaces to meet each other, discuss shared challenges in organizing, and do a couple of short modules from the OT102  
Hoping to hold a training session for prospective organizing mentors based on the NARA External Organizer Manual in August

#### The specter of De Leon

Gather around the campfire my fellow workers, for we must speak of the angry spirit that has been haunting our very union. I know you speak of this ominous being fearfully as if he were lurking in the shadows, knowing that we may incur his wrath. I encountered this spirit once however and studied his ghastly physique to determine just who this lost soul is. His radiating aura tells tales of torment for the souls of writers and socialists who suffered under his eagle eye, a toxic veneer that alienated many laborers and a booming voice that spoke in tongues; demanding for listeners to follow his every will. I concurred that it was the wandering soul of Daniel De Leon; forever angry at the union who wronged him in life: putting him back to which he came from was a top priority. Before I could leave for the cemetery however, I was stopped in my tracks by a monster with multiple ostrich heads accompanied by their signature long necks attached to a single albatross of a body. Lowering their 7 heads as they shouted in a voice that was coarse, unsynchronized and was quick to annoy: their name was Gebby Moa and wished to know what I was doing with a wandering spirit. Despite me speaking clearly of my intentions, 2 of the heads looked at each other in confusion shouting: those who heard demanded that I present proof: the death certificate of De Leon himself! As I balked at such demands, the confused heads started to argue with the others. "What if they find it, maybe we should make them collect the signatures of Haywood, Connolly and Debs to verify its authenticity!" one shouted before another chimed "no, we should hire staffers to do it and make them wait!" another one shouted before digging their head below the ground. "We should call the lawyer!" As they fought, I snuck the spirit and myself away to the cemetery to complete my task. As I arrived to dig at De Leon's grave, the spirit started to chuckle. Intrigued, I examined the spirit once more: the aura in which he commanded respect before now oozed of black greed and gave a stench worse than death (literally, the corpse smelled better). Listening closely and to my surprise: the strange words emanating from his twisted lips were not those of tongues, but deceitful lies and the deceptions of a skilled conman. My intrigue quickly gave way to panic as the spirit screeched like a child, telling me to obey. Hearing the spirit, I recollected myself. This was not Daniel, but that of an undead scab; A boss demanding undeserved power and wealth he steals from his workers. De Leon had many faults, even split the union; but he was never as cowardly as this spirit to hide his own name when doing it. Evil specter: Esti d'épals à mardel! The working class will vanquish you and your deceptive game!

Sean Mulrooney

#### Fellow Workers,

I am appalled by the actions of this year's GEB which, with some individual exceptions, seems to disdain the concept of union democracy. This was demonstrated most recently by the GEB's brazen attempt to discount the recall petition that was submitted with over 350 signatures.

I attended the GEB meeting where this course of action was first decided. When Fellow Worker Cam stated that

he "did not appreciate" being arbitrarily stripped of his ability as GST to communicate with the membership, all communications now going through a communications officer the GEB had at a previous meeting ruled was immune not only to charges but even criticism. GEB member Scarlett spoke out of order and angrily stated in response, "We do not appreciate a recall petition!" This is a direct quote. Though her outburst was omitted from the minutes of that meeting, anyone who denies that this was said is a liar. I was not at the next meeting of the GEB, which was conducted in secret, the minutes of which have yet to be released, nearly two weeks later at time of writing.

This represents a pattern of behavior by the 2021 GEB, first exemplified by the GEB's decision to remove the requirement in the MPP that discussion of GEB business be held in a forum visible to the membership.

An example of what this looks like in practice is the process by which the site for the 2021 convention was decided. The Philadelphia GMB, after a month of preparation to ensure a committee was in place, voted at its monthly meeting to put itself forward as a site for the 2021 convention the day prior to the scheduled GEB meeting. However, instead of discussing where to hold convention, GEB chair Liss simply called the vote to name Huntsville the convention site with no discussion and then ruled the motion for Philadelphia as convention site out of order. When members of the Philadelphia GMB present at the meeting protested, it was said that Philadelphia had put itself forward too late to be considered. The first and only time Huntsville was publicly put forward by the GEB as a possible convention site was 48 hours before the decision was made. At what point was the membership expected to participate in this decision-making process?

The simple truth is that it was not.

This GEB is not interested in the thoughts of the membership they supposedly serve, especially when members disagree with their vision of the NWW as a top-down staff driven organization with more in common with an NGO than a union, and nothing in common with the revolutionary democratic union that once shared its name.

I call on my Fellow Workers to hold the members of the GEB named in the recall petition accountable. I have no words for my contempt for those members of the GEB who have acted to overturn our union's democracy.

An Injury to One is an Injury to All,

Patrick Gulina  
X-390910

Dear FWs,

I am increasingly disturbed by the undemocratic positions the GEB is taking. Recall petitions are spelled out word-for-word in the Constitution. The petition was submitted with signatures of more than 5% of members in good standing as of January 1st on June 28th. The ballots need to go out within 30 days. All branches need to be notified within 3 days (email was overdue and hard to understand). We were only given ONE WEEK to respond. How's that for ableism and accessibility?

It's spelled out in the Constitution and Bylaws. There is no gray area. Why are we accusing the signatories of fraud and demanding they verify their signatures, effectively pushing back these Constitutionally-mandated deadlines? Let me reiterate, nothing in the Constitution mandates that they "verify signatures."

FW Selena Caldera had this to say on Interweb on July 3: "Sufficiency challenge was made by two affected members for the signatures, based both on number of signatures and on the fact that the documents submitted appeared to have been altered by the petition authors rather than being a straight export." No evidence was provided for this "sufficiency challenge" and the affected members were not named.

Around 20 FW signed the petition physically, requiring that we edit the petition with the physical signatures. How is this hard to comprehend?

This is offensive that the GEB is assuming bad faith on the part of the member body. If anything, this shows me how badly Selena Caldera, Scarlett Gillespie, and Liss Waters-Hyde need to be recalled.

- FW Hannah

Greg Alt - Seattle GMB:

The right of members to recall officers is an important part of bottom-up union democracy. There are different reasons you might want a change - If you elect someone who ran on a policy platform and is now acting against it, or if they were silent on policy and surprised membership with a push first announced only after election, or even if things change and the membership just wants a different policy.

In any of these, there are a few main ways the membership can correct things.

The obvious one is to be outspoken about wanting officials to change course. Of course, if officials believe it is just a loud, ignorable minority, they can carry on with no change - by definition, a recall would fail, as would attempts to vote them out at the next scheduled election.

Unless the officers misjudged.

The next is just wait until the next election. People who disagreed with policy changes can run with candidate statements promising to reverse unpopular acts by the current officials and generally treating the role in a different manner. If they win, it's a clear mandate to do just that.

And both of those are the preferred way to do it.

Membership Data (last day of the previous month)	Members in Good and Bad Standing	Members in Good Standing
Branches are listed under their assigned GEB Contact		
<b>Liss Waters Hyde</b>		
Edmonton GMB	63	52
Hamilton GMB	16	13
K'ijipuktuk (Halifax) GMB	10	8
Montreal GMB	172	138
Ottawa GMB	36	32
Toronto GMB	74	61
Vancouver GMB	25	20
Windsor GMB	5	3
Winnipeg GMB	28	22
<b>Unassigned</b>		
Albuquerque GMB	34	31
Bay Area GMB	176	153
Denver GMB	123	110
Los Angeles GMB	216	194
Phoenix GMB	49	45
Salt Lake City GMB	10	10
Sacramento Valley GMB	24	20
San Diego GMB	38	28
Santa Cruz IUB 620	5	3
Santa Fe GMB	24	17
Seattle GMB	195	129
Tucson GMB	23	22
<b>Kelsey Tanabe Walker</b>		
Amherst IUB 650	5	5
Boston GMB	108	93
Central New Jersey GMB	36	28
Connecticut GMB	41	36
New York City GMB	164	146
New York City IUB 450	140	113
Northern New Jersey GMB	25	23
Philadelphia GMB	121	103
Pittsburgh GMB	56	51
Providence GMB	29	22
Rochester GMB	26	22
Southern Maine GMB	30	28
Stardust Family United IUB 630/640	45	2
Upstate New York GMB	44	33
Worcester GMB	14	11
<b>Selena Caldera</b>		
Everett GMB	19	16
Fairbanks GMB	6	4
Lane County GMB	21	19
Mid-Valley GMB	49	33
Missoula GMB	13	10
Olympia GMB	36	16
Portland GMB	195	120

Spokane GMB	20	12
Tacoma GMB	30	29
Whatcom-Skagit GMB	31	26
<b>Sabrina Cummings</b>		
Detroit GMB	86	73
Grand Rapids GMB	29	27
Greater Chicago GMB	289	237
Madison GMB	56	53
Maple City GMB	35	20
Milwaukee GMB	105	92
NE Ohio GMB	39	32
Ohio Valley GMB	61	48
SJEM IUB 620	22	21
West Virginia GMB	47	40
Ypsilanti GMB	65	64
IWOC IUB #1	10	10
IWOC IUB #2	10	10
<b>Scarlett Gillespie</b>		
Greater Kansas City GMB	18	16
Green Country GMB	8	6
Central Oklahoma GMB	40	32
Red River GMB	15	12
<b>Alice Maule</b>		
Atlanta GMB	56	44
Baltimore GMB	59	51
Central Florida GMB	17	17
Gainesville GMB	10	8
Houston GMB	30	19
Huntsville GMB	23	18
New River Valley GMB	10	10
Richmond GMB	55	31
Tampa Bay GMB	27	18
Tennessee GMB	20	17
Washington DC GMB	110	93
At-Large Members	3575	3061
IWOC At-Large Members	917	763
Branch Membership	4002	3231
TOTAL NARA Membership	8494	7055

IUP	Industrial Union	# of members (good & bad standing)
110	Agricultural Workers Industrial Union	42
120	Forest and Lumber Workers Industrial Union	14
130	Fishery Workers Industrial Union	2
140	Greenhouse and Nursery Workers Industrial Union	19
210	Mine Workers Industrial Union	3
220	Energy Workers Industrial Union	21
310	Civil Construction Workers Industrial Union	41
320	Ship and Boat Builders Industrial Union	5
330	Building Construction Workers Industrial Union	154
340	Building Maintenance and Landscaping Workers Industrial Union	72
410	Textile and Leather Workers Industrial Union	35
420	Wood Processing and Furniture Workers Industrial Union	31
430	Chemical Workers Industrial Union	48
440	Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union	244
450	Printing and Publishing House Workers Industrial Union	262
460	Food Product Workers Industrial Union 460	351
470	Electronics and Instrument Workers Industrial Union	89
480	Glass, Pottery and Mineral Workers Industrial Union	17
490	Pulp and Paper Mill Workers Industrial Union	10
510	Marine Workers Industrial Union	19
520	Railroad Workers Industrial Union	15
530	Ground Transportation and Transit Workers Industrial Union	114
540	Postal, Express and Message Delivery Workers Industrial Union	19
550	Air Transport Workers Industrial Union 550	25
560	General Distribution Workers Industrial Union	221
570	Communications and Internet Technology Workers Industrial Union	544
580	Information Services Workers Industrial Union	69
590	Video, Audio and Film Production Workers Industrial Union	87
610	Health Service Workers Industrial Union	382
613	Incarcerated Workers Industrial Union	901
620	Education and Research Workers Industrial Union	1431
630	Performing Arts, Recreation and Tourism Workers Industrial Union	230
631	Freelance and Temporary Workers Industrial Union	357
640	Restaurant, Hotel, and Catering Workers Industrial Union	739
650	General, Legal, Public Interest, and Financial Office Workers Industrial Union	754
651	Government Workers Industrial Union	171
660	Retail Workers Industrial Union	568
670	Utility & Sanitation Workers Industrial Union	89
680	Household and Personal Service Workers Industrial Union	102
690	Sex Industry Workers Industrial Union	21

### How to Read Your Union's Financial Statements

From the 2018 Finance Committee

It's easy to be overwhelmed by the rows and rows of numbers in the financial statements, but once you know what to look for they can be easy to read. Below is a table that outlines the basic parts of the financial reports and where you can find them.

	Actuals	Budget	Over Budget	% Budget
Income	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	%
Expense	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	%
Net Income	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	\$\$\$	%

**Income:** Income is simply all the money we bring in from all sources. Under this you will see numbers with names attached, each of these is simply a way to keep different sources of income separate so we can tell what comes from where. eg: 4130 Dues Regular \$16,446.06 tells us that between July and December we have received \$16,466 in Regular Dues.

**Expense:** Expenses are everything we spend money on. Just like under income there are lots of lines to track exactly what we spend money on. eg: 5125 Alarm System \$273.90 tells us that between July and December we have spent \$273.90 on our alarm system.

**Net Income:** Net Income is what is left after we subtract the money we bring in, from the money we pay out. Ideally we want this number above 0! This number tends to rise and fall slowly because usually more income also means more expenses. eg: More members means more membership supplies.

**Actuals:** The numbers in this column are what we 'actually' brought in or spent, they are the exact amounts we have made or paid out by this point in the year.

**Budget:** The budget is the amount we expect to spend over the course of the whole year. Sometimes it is how much we have agreed to set aside for something (eg. committees) or how much we think we're going to make or spend based on past information or other factors. Note: The "Budget" numbers shown in the GOB represent the predicted budget through the year so far (up to the end of the month on the heading), not the total budget for the whole year. This makes it easier to compare the budget with the actuals.

**Over Budget:** This column simply tells you the difference between the Actuals and Budgets column.

**% of Budget:** This column is very useful for reading the budget over at a glance. This tells you what percent of the budget we've spent or earned if the budget was prorated up to the quarter ending as of the quarter of the report. Here prorated means if the budget equally spread over the four quarters and then cut so to only present a portion of the year. For example, in the end of December report, the halfway point in our fiscal year, any rows with a 100% at the end are perfectly in line with our budget, meaning they have spent (or earned) half of the expected amount halfway through the fiscal year.

IWW Store Budget vs. Actuals July 1st - June 30th, 2021				
IWW Store Budget vs Actual	Actual	Budget	over Budget	% of Budget
<b>Income</b>				
1000 Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1100 Merchandise	-2,375.79	0.00	-2,375.79	
1110 Books	13,435.10	6,000.00	7,435.10	223.92%
1120 Apparel	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1121 T-Shirts	25,808.28	7,500.00	18,308.28	344.11%
1122 Hats	9,723.00	4,000.00	5,723.00	243.08%
1123 Buttons	7,527.25	2,400.00	5,127.25	313.64%
1124 Hoodies	10,122.00	5,200.00	4,922.00	194.65%
Total 1120 Apparel	\$53,180.53	\$19,100.00	\$34,080.53	278.43%
1130 Stickers	2,257.50	1,100.00	1,157.50	205.23%
1140 Posters	6,420.00	3,000.00	3,420.00	214.00%
1170 Music/CDs	782.93	100.00	682.93	782.93%
1180 Pamphlets	6,601.80	1,000.00	5,601.80	660.18%
1200 Misc.	5,773.00	650.00	5,123.00	888.15%
1210 Drinkware	1,555.00	1,500.00	55.00	103.67%
1220 Flags	10,539.00	2,500.00	8,039.00	421.56%
1250 Patches	2,533.50	1,800.00	733.50	140.75%
Total 1100 Merchandise	\$100,702.57	\$36,750.00	\$63,952.57	274.02%
1300 Shipping and Handling	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1310 Shipping	32,044.25	11,000.00	21,044.25	291.31%
Total 1300 Shipping and Handling	\$32,044.25	\$11,000.00	\$21,044.25	291.31%
Total 1000 Income	\$132,746.82	\$47,750.00	\$84,996.82	278.00%
1001 Donations to LD	51.73	200.00	-148.27	25.87%
1010 Donations	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1011 IAC Donations	0.00	150.00	-150.00	0.00%
1014 OTC Donations	0.00	50.00	-50.00	0.00%
1015 Sato Fund Donations	0.00	50.00	-50.00	0.00%
Total 1010 Donations	\$0.00	\$250.00	-\$250.00	0.00%
1400 IW Income	130.00	0.00	130.00	
1410 IW Sub	1,292.00	750.00	542.00	172.27%
1420 IW Bundles	220.00	500.00	-280.00	44.00%
1430 IW Donations	285.00	100.00	185.00	285.00%
1450 IW Single Issue	174.00	50.00	124.00	348.00%
Total 1400 IW Income	\$2,101.00	\$1,400.00	\$701.00	150.07%
1500 Other Income Sources	0.00	0.00	0.00	
1510 Interest	0.11	2.00	-1.89	5.50%
Total 1500 Other Income Sources	\$0.11	\$2.00	-\$1.89	5.50%
Sales of Product Income	178.00	0.00	178.00	
Total Income	\$135,077.66	\$49,602.00	\$85,475.66	272.32%
<b>Cost of Goods Sold</b>				
2000 Cost of Goods Sold	130.31	0.00	130.31	
2100 Merchandise	-570.85	0.00	-570.85	
2110 Books	7,596.37	4,000.00	3,596.37	189.91%
2120 Apparel	0.00	0.00	0.00	
2021 T-Shirts	14,004.89	3,750.00	10,254.89	373.46%
2022 Hats	6,286.71	1,500.00	4,786.71	419.11%
2023 Buttons	2,412.06	500.00	1,912.06	482.41%
2024 Sweatshirts	8,518.69	3,000.00	5,518.69	283.96%
Total 2120 Apparel	\$31,222.35	\$8,750.00	\$22,472.35	356.83%
2130 Stickers	627.25	650.00	-22.75	96.50%
2140 Posters	2,949.10	2,000.00	949.10	147.46%
2170 Music/CDs	343.00	0.00	343.00	
2180 Pamphlets	2,422.54	100.00	2,322.54	2422.54%
2190 Calendars (deleted)	0.00	300.00	-300.00	0.00%
2200 Patches	1,471.53	700.00	771.53	210.22%
2210 Drinkware	512.03	700.00	-187.97	73.15%
2220 Flags	2,999.31	1,600.00	1,399.31	187.46%
2300 Misc.	2,234.52	400.00	1,834.52	558.63%
Total 2100 Merchandise	\$51,807.15	\$19,200.00	\$32,607.15	269.83%
2400 Sales Tax Expense	2,026.69	0.00	2,026.69	
Total 2000 Cost of Goods Sold	\$53,964.15	\$19,200.00	\$34,764.15	281.06%

IWW Store Budget vs Actual	Actual	Budget	over Budget	% of Budget
<b>Inventory Shrinkage</b>	316.31	0.00	316.31	
Total Cost of Goods Sold	\$54,280.46	\$19,200.00	\$35,080.46	282.71%
Gross Profit	\$80,797.20	\$30,402.00	\$50,395.20	265.76%
<b>Expenses</b>				
3000 Expenses	0.00	0.00	0.00	
3100 Supplies	0.00	0.00	0.00	
3110 Office Supplies	12.89	0.00	12.89	
3120 Shipping Supplies	1,799.30	650.00	1,149.30	276.82%
3130 Software	1,092.60	1,065.00	27.60	102.59%
Total 3100 Supplies	\$2,904.79	\$1,715.00	\$1,189.79	169.38%
3200 Postal Accounts	0.00	0.00	0.00	
3210 USPS Shipping	32,998.23	11,000.00	21,998.23	299.98%
3220 Vendor Shipping	3,890.96	205.00	3,685.96	1898.03%
Total 3200 Postal Accounts	\$36,889.19	\$11,205.00	\$25,684.19	329.22%
3300 Bank Charges	24.00	0.00	24.00	
3320 PayPal Fees	5,372.36	1,700.00	3,672.36	316.02%
Total 3300 Bank Charges	\$5,396.36	\$1,700.00	\$3,696.36	317.43%
3500 Professional Services	0.00	0.00	0.00	
3510 Volunteer Expense	25.82	100.00	-74.18	25.82%
3520 Marketing & Design	\$25.82	\$300.00	-\$274.18	8.61%
Total 3500 Professional Services	0.00	0.00	0.00	
3600 Labor Costs	0.00	34,125.00	-\$34,125.00	0.00%
3610 General Staff	0.00	3,650.00	-\$3,650.00	0.00%
3630 Payroll Taxes	0.00	1,500.00	-\$1,500.00	0.00%
3640 Professional Services	\$0.00	\$39,275.00	-\$39,275.00	0.00%
Total 3600 Labor Costs	\$45,216.16	\$54,195.00	-\$8,978.84	83.43%
Total 3000 Expenses	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Payroll Expenses	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Wages	3,940.00	0.00	3,940.00	
Total Payroll Expenses	\$3,940.00	\$0.00	\$3,940.00	
QuickBooks Payments Fees	203.08	300.00	-96.92	67.69%
Total Expenses	\$49,359.24	\$54,495.00	-\$5,135.76	90.58%
Net Operating Income	\$31,437.96	-\$24,093.00	\$55,530.96	-130.49%
<b>Other Income</b>				
Interest Income	0.01	0.00	0.01	
Total Other Income	\$0.01	\$0.00	\$0.01	
Net Other Income	\$0.01	\$0.00	\$0.01	
Net Income	\$31,437.97	-\$24,093.00	\$55,530.97	-130.49%

IWW Store Balance Sheet - As of June 30th, 2021		IWW Store Profit & Loss June 2021	
IWW Store Balance Sheet		IWW Store Profit & Loss	
	Total		Total
<b>ASSETS</b>		<b>Income</b>	
Current Assets		1000 Income	
Bank Accounts		1100 Merchandise	-375.79
0000 PayPal	799.45	1110 Books	982.63
0001 Chase Checking	40,494.29	1120 Apparel	
0002 Chase Savings	695.66	1121 T-Shirts	1,138.00
0009 Petty Cash	529.54	1122 Hats	620.00
Total Bank Accounts	\$42,518.94	1123 Buttons	432.50
Accounts Receivable		1124 Hoodies	500.00
0004 Accounts Receivable	2,881.44	Total 1120 Apparel	\$2,690.50
Total Accounts Receivable	\$2,881.44	1130 Stickers	45.00
Other Current Assets		1140 Posters	324.00
0003 Undeposited Funds	1,235.90	1170 Music/CDs	19.95
0011 LD Assets paid to GHQ	45.00	1180 Pamphlets	454.30
4000 Inventory Asset	0.00	1200 Misc.	280.00
4100 Merchandise	-790.95	1210 Drinkware	60.00
4110 Books	24,811.16	1220 Flags	748.00
4111 Pamphlets	3,320.65	1250 Patches	139.00
Total 4110 Books	\$28,131.81	Total 1100 Merchandise	\$5,367.59
4120 Apparel	714.14	1300 Shipping and Handling	
4121 T-Shirts	8,617.51	1310 Shipping	1,783.10
4122 Hats	2,695.37	Total 1300 Shipping and Handling	\$1,783.10
4123 Buttons	1,224.76	Total 1000 Income	\$7,150.69
4126 Patches	2,865.13	1001 Donations to LD	0.55
4126 Hoodies	1,075.33	1400 IWW Income	
Total 4120 Apparel	\$17,152.24	1450 IWW Single Issue	3.00
4130 Stickers	170.80	Total 1400 IWW Income	\$3.00
4140 Posters	22,182.40	1500 Other Income Sources	
4160 DVDs	10.00	1510 Interest	0.01
4170 Music/CDs	1,231.50	Total 1500 Other Income Sources	\$0.01
4180 Misc.	6,841.70	Total Income	\$7,154.25
4185 Drinkware	642.33	Cost of Goods Sold	
Total 4100 Merchandise	\$75,571.83	2000 Cost of Goods Sold	4.96
4101 Backstock	0.00	2100 Merchandise	350.00
Adjustments	0.00	2110 Books	566.81
Total 4000 Inventory Asset	\$75,571.83	2120 Apparel	
4200 GHQ Expenditures	0.00	2021 T-Shirts	1,335.76
9500 Due From General Headquarters	0.00	2022 Hats	420.96
Credit Card Receivables	11.03	2023 Buttons	136.00
Uncategorized Asset	0.00	2024 Sweatshirts	411.66
Total Other Current Assets	\$76,863.76	Total 2120 Apparel	\$2,324.38
Total Current Assets	\$122,264.14	2130 Stickers	10.06
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>\$122,264.14</b>	2140 Posters	160.80
<b>LIABILITIES AND EQUITY</b>		2170 Music/CDs	15.00
Liabilities		2180 Pamphlets	185.86
Current Liabilities		2200 Patches	88.15
Accounts Payable		2210 Drinkware	18.84
0005 Accounts Payable	250.64	2220 Flags	213.52
Accounts Payable		2300 Misc.	106.76
Total 0005 Accounts Payable	\$250.64	Total 2100 Merchandise	\$4,040.18
Total Accounts Payable	\$250.64	2400 Sales Tax Expense	42.10
Other Current Liabilities		Total 2000 Cost of Goods Sold	\$4,087.24
00051 State Sales Tax	-1,040.37	Inventory Shrinkage	1,289.87
9000 Due To General Headquarters	37,262.79	Total Cost of Goods Sold	\$5,377.11
		Gross Profit	\$1,777.14
		Expenses	

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IWW Store Balance Sheet		Total	IWW Store Profit & Loss		Total
5000 Organizing Donations		180.00	3000 Expenses		
Committed	5001 General Defense	-3,726.93	3100 Supplies		
Donations	5002 SWU Fund & Dona-	0.00	3120 Shipping Supplies	173.15	
tions	5003 Wisconsin Dona-	0.00	3130 Software	96.30	
tions	5004 IJWW Fund & Dona-	0.00	Total 3100 Supplies	\$269.45	
tions	5005 Winnipeg Fund	0.00	3200 Postal Accounts		
	5006 ISC Fund	-207.70	3210 USPS Shipping	3,169.61	
	5007 UROC Donations	0.00	3220 Vendor Shipping	241.31	
Donations	Total 5000 Organizing	-3,754.65	Total 3200 Postal Accounts	\$3,410.92	
DA-13(2018)	5015 Due to GHQ Motion	1,292.91	3300 Bank Charges		
Headquarters	Total 9000 Due To General	\$34,801.05	3320 PayPal Fees	397.83	
	Direct Deposit Payable	0.00	Total 3300 Bank Charges	\$397.83	
Revenue Payable	Illinois Department of Rev-	-184.00	Total 3000 Expenses	\$4,078.20	
	Payroll Liabilities		Quickbooks Payments Fees	22.46	
(990)	Federal Taxes (941/944)	0.00	Total Expenses	\$4,100.66	
	Federal Unemployment	0.00	Net Operating Income	-82,323.52	
	IL Income Tax	0.00	Net Income		
	IL Unemployment Tax	0.00			
	Total Payroll Liabilities	\$0.00			
	Total Other Current Liabilities	\$33,576.68			
	Total Current Liabilities	\$33,827.32			
	Total Liabilities	\$33,827.32			
	Equity				
	0006 Opening Balance Equity	\$6.85			
	0007 Unrestricted Net Assets	88,288.23			
	9999 Equity				
	9100 Funds Transfers to GHQ	0.00			
	Total 9999 Equity	\$0.00			
	Net Income	91.74			
	Total Equity	\$88,436.82			
	<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND EQUITY</b>	<b>\$122,264.14</b>			

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## General Headquarters Budget vs. Actual: July 1st - June 30th 2021

GHQ Budget vs Actual	Actual	Budget	over Budget	% of Budget
<b>Income</b>				
4100 Dues	-403.50	0.00	-403.50	
4110 Initiations	56,235.74	87,208.00	-31,972.26	63.24%
4120 Dues Income - Max	188,542.97	205,742.00	-17,199.03	91.64%
4130 Dues Income - Reg	216,793.87	171,346.00	45,436.57	126.52%
4140 Dues Income - Min	199,081.02	118,918.00	70,164.02	159.00%
4150 Dues Income - Sub	75,204.34	49,220.00	24,084.34	146.93%
4170 Dues Income - ROC Per Cap	3,816.69	4,404.00	-587.31	84.91%
Total 4100 Dues	878,061.05	843,838.00	34,223.05	113.56%
4300 IW	0.00	0.00	0.00	
4310 IW subs	310.00	750.00	-440.00	41.33%
4320 IW Bundles	135.00	500.00	-365.00	27.00%
4330 IW Prep Assessments	37.50	100.00	-62.50	37.50%
4340 IW Donations	76.22	100.00	-23.78	76.22%
4390 IW Other	20.00	0.00	20.00	
Total 4300 IW	558.72	1,350.00	-791.28	39.91%
4400 Committee Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	
4460 OTC	300.00	12,500.00	-12,200.00	2.40%
Total 4400 Committee Income	300.00	12,500.00	-12,200.00	2.40%
4600 General Administration Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	
4610 GHQ Lk & Merchandise	0.00	100.00	-100.00	0.00%
4630 Membership supplies to Branch	285.95	100.00	185.95	285.95%
4640 Misc vol assessments	49.00	100.00	-51.00	49.00%
Total 4600 General Administration Income	334.95	300.00	34.95	109.65%
4900 Other Income Sources	35.00	0.00	35.00	
4910 Donations to PWV	5,990.13	1,000.00	4,990.13	599.01%
4920 Internet	454.23	250.00	204.23	261.49%
4930 Rental/Copyright Income	104.73	0.00	104.73	
4940 Dechartered Branch Funds	3,164.95	0.00	3,164.95	
4990 Uncategorized Income	120.00	0.00	120.00	
Total 4900 Other Income Sources	89,773.03	1,250.00	88,523.03	777.84%
Services	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Uncategorized Income	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Total Income	878,941.78	864,338.00	14,603.78	112.62%
Gross Profit	\$736,941.76	\$654,338.00	\$82,603.76	112.62%
<b>Expenses</b>				
5100 GHQ expense	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5110 Labor costs	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5111 GRT Wages	39,231.64	45,000.00	-5,768.36	78.09%
5112 Other GHQ Staff	46,523.11	61,842.00	-15,318.89	75.23%
5113 GRT Benefits	16,459.47	16,884.00	-424.53	96.87%
5114 Payroll Taxes	38,199.81	1,685.00	36,514.81	2167.44%
5115 Professional Services	2,060.91	4,500.00	-2,439.09	45.80%
5116 Volunteer expenses	98.27	250.00	-151.73	39.16%
5117 Staff Benefits	11,282.64	9,875.00	1,407.64	134.47%
5118 Daycare stipend	0.00	4,000.00	-4,000.00	0.00%
5119 GRT Trainee Wages	0.00	3,792.00	-3,792.00	0.00%
Total 5110 Labor costs	\$148,357.47	\$160,323.00	-\$11,965.53	104.88%
5130 Rent and Facilities	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5131 Admin Rent	16,500.00	16,200.00	300.00	101.85%
5132 Utilities	1,471.48	1,200.00	271.48	101.17%
5133 Admin phone/fax/email	2,787.10	2,200.00	587.10	126.23%
5134 GRT personal phone stipend	240.00	240.00	0.00	100.00%
5135 Alarm systems	99.19	450.00	-350.81	90.95%
5136 PD Sup Fee	92.00	92.00	0.00	100.00%
5137 Physical Plant	685.33	60.00	625.33	1042.50%
5138 Insurance	3,749.20	3,000.00	749.20	124.97%
Total 5130 Rent and Facilities	\$26,096.44	\$24,042.00	\$2,054.44	108.55%
5150 Supplies	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5151 Office Supplies	1,271.97	2,000.00	-728.03	63.60%
5152 Membership Supplies	9,841.12	14,000.00	-4,158.88	70.29%
5153 Paper and Printing Supplies	1,633.08	4,000.00	-2,366.92	41.33%
5154 Cleaning Supplies	150.00	300.00	-150.00	50.00%
5159 Other supplies	0.00	50.00	-50.00	0.00%
Total 5150 Supplies	\$12,916.17	\$20,350.00	-\$7,433.83	63.47%
5160 Postage Accounts	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5161 Admin Postage	10,166.31	8,000.00	2,166.31	127.08%
Total 5160 Postage Accounts	\$10,166.31	\$8,000.00	\$2,166.31	127.08%
5180 Equipment and Repairs	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5181 Copier Lease	11,133.99	10,000.00	1,133.99	111.34%
5183 Office Equipment	1,808.32	1,500.00	308.32	120.55%
5184 Equipment Repairs	15.00	100.00	-85.00	15.00%

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GHQ Budget vs Actual	Actual	Budget	over Budget	% of Budget
Total 5180 Equipment and Repairs	\$12,957.31	\$11,600.00	\$1,357.31	111.70%
5140 Bank charges	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5142 International Convention	2,109.89	3,600.00	-1,490.11	58.40%
5143 PayPal/Stripe Fees	46,410.35	24,000.00	22,410.35	185.04%
5144 Money Wire Fees	390.00	0.00	390.00	
Total 5140 Bank charges	\$48,910.04	\$27,600.00	\$21,310.04	169.96%
5180 Bond Expenses	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5181 General Administration Bond	14,141.00	11,000.00	3,141.00	128.55%
Total 5180 Bond Expenses	\$14,141.00	\$11,000.00	\$3,141.00	128.55%
5190 Other GHQ expense	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5191 Legal Expenses	8,601.39	10,000.00	-1,398.61	86.01%
5192 Software Subscriptions	3,065.43	3,000.00	65.43	102.15%
5193 Franchise Office Stipend	0.00	300.00	-300.00	0.00%
5194 Accountant Expenses	21,423.85	20,000.00	1,423.85	107.19%
5195 Electronic Balloting Services	1,898.33	4,000.00	-2,101.67	47.46%
5196 GDS Printing Services	34,917.21	18,250.00	16,667.21	195.69%
Total 5190 Other GHQ expense	\$69,921.12	\$55,500.00	\$14,421.12	124.19%
Total 5180 Other GHQ expense	\$84,062.12	\$66,500.00	\$17,562.12	131.14%
5200 IW Expense	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5210 IW Mailing Expense	1,394.85	1,150.00	244.85	121.47%
5220 IW Printing	3,291.87	1,750.00	1,541.87	162.40%
5230 IW Postage	2,293.68	690.00	1,603.68	232.70%
5240 IW Editor Stipend	0.00	2,875.00	-2,875.00	0.00%
5290 Other IW Expense	568.23	3,000.00	-2,431.77	18.94%
Total 5200 IW Expense	\$7,258.53	\$11,565.00	-\$4,306.47	62.32%
5400 Committee Expenses	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5410 OD	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5411 Organizing Department Board	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5412 Organizing Conventions	0.00	1,000.00	-1,000.00	0.00%
5413 Organizing Campaign Support	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54131 Campaign Support	20,184.04	40,000.00	-19,815.96	50.46%
54132 ODC Stipend	16,740.34	17,000.00	-259.66	98.47%
54133 Admin Support	713.77	500.00	213.77	142.78%
54134 Organizing Dept Board Projects	11,309.30	12,000.00	-690.70	92.56%
Total 5413 Organizing Campaign Support	\$49,947.47	\$69,500.00	-\$19,552.53	71.81%
5419 ODB Member Travel	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54191 Travel to ODB Annual Meeting	424.85	3,000.00	-2,575.15	20.90%
54192 ODB Member Travel	462.85	\$3,000.00	-\$2,537.15	20.90%
Total 5419 Organizing Department Board	\$892,742.32	\$69,500.00	\$823,242.32	1191.06%
5412 Organizing Training Committee	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54121 101 Trainings	8,325.03	20,000.00	-\$11,674.97	41.63%
54122 102 Trainings	0.00	5,000.00	-5,000.00	0.00%
54123 Training for Trainers	1,125.00	9,000.00	-7,875.00	12.50%
54124 Translations of Organizational Training	4,809.78	2,400.00	2,409.78	204.57%
Material	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54127 Trainer Meeting	0.00	1,200.00	-1,200.00	0.00%
54128 OTC Annual Meeting	0.00	4,000.00	-4,000.00	0.00%
Total 5412 Organizing Training Committee	\$14,329.81	\$14,600.00	-\$270.19	98.16%
5413 Survey & Research Committee	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54135 SRC Travel	0.00	500.00	-500.00	0.00%
54136 Software and App Subscriptions	493.79	10.00	483.79	4837.90%
54137 Survey & Research Committee	\$493.79	\$910.00	-\$416.21	54.48%
Total 5413 Survey & Research Committee	\$493.79	\$910.00	-\$416.21	54.48%
5410 OD	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5416 Education Department Board	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54161 General/Admin	1,473.85	4,900.00	-3,426.15	30.08%
54162 Curriculum Library	300.00	2,315.00	-2,015.00	12.94%
54163 Pictas Training and Other Programs	1,530.00	15,400.00	-13,870.00	9.91%
Total 5416 Education Department Board	\$3,303.85	\$12,615.00	-\$9,311.15	26.18%
5415 Communications Department	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54151 Labor Costs	0.00	0.00	0.00	
541511 CDB Staff Wages	33,358.31	0.00	33,358.31	
541512 CDB Staff Payroll Taxes	7,335.49	0.00	7,335.49	
Total 54151 Labor Costs	\$40,693.70	\$0.00	\$40,693.70	
54152 Translations	3,896.05	3,000.00	896.05	129.60%
Total 5415 Communications Department	\$44,590.75	\$3,000.00	\$41,590.75	1385.02%
5420 ISC	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5421 Communications Costs	0.00	200.00	-200.00	0.00%
5422 Travel	0.00	5,000.00	-5,000.00	0.00%
Total 5420 ISC	\$0.00	\$5,200.00	-\$5,200.00	0.00%
5430 OTC	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5431 Allocation to Sato Fund	0.00	3,000.00	-3,000.00	0.00%
5432 OTC Materials	0.00	200.00	-200.00	0.00%

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GHQ Budget vs Actual	Actual	Budget	over Budget	% of Budget
5439 Mediation and Audits	4,460.00	4,000.00	460.00	111.50%
Total 5430 GDC	\$4,460.00	\$7,300.00	-\$2,740.00	61.94%
5480 IAC	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5481 Website Hosting Fee	2,803.42	3,000.00	803.42	140.11%
5483 Promotional	0.00	1,500.00	-1,500.00	0.00%
5484 IAC In-Person Meeting	0.00	600.00	-600.00	0.00%
5486 Contractors	0.00	800.00	-800.00	0.00%
5487 Palmetto Tech Contract	11,118.66	8,000.00	3,118.66	138.98%
5488 Misc. Services	2,301.10	700.00	1,601.10	314.44%
Total 5480 IAC	\$14,123.17	\$13,300.00	\$823.17	121.33%
5480 Convention Expense	7,799.48	3,000.00	4,799.48	259.86%
5470 GDC Expense	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5472 GDC Software Subscriptions	0.00	175.00	-175.00	0.00%
5473 GDC Stipend	3,900.00	4,500.00	-600.00	82.22%
5474 GDC Union Liability Insurance	5,130.00	3,100.00	2,030.00	244.39%
5477 Press Officer Stipend	150.00	200.00	-50.00	75.00%
5478 Winter Meeting Travel, Lodging, Food	807.56	4,150.00	-3,442.44	10.00%
5479 Summer Meeting Travel, Lodging, Food	201.32	1,000.00	-798.68	30.13%
Total 5470 GDC Expense	\$10,139.08	\$13,125.00	-\$2,985.92	81.31%
5490 Audit Committee	0.00	3,000.00	-3,000.00	0.00%
5490 Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5494 Junior Wobblies	0.00	0.00	0.00	
5495 Camp Costs	0.00	1,000.00	-1,000.00	0.00%
5496 Baby Sitters	1,073.87	1,500.00	-426.13	71.59%
5497 Camp Costs Matching Funds	0.00	1,500.00	-1,500.00	0.00%
5498 Materials for New Locals	0.00	200.00	-200.00	0.00%
Total 5494 Junior Wobblies	\$1,073.87	\$4,300.00	-\$3,226.13	24.73%
Total 5490 Other	\$1,073.87	\$4,300.00	-\$3,226.13	24.73%
54911 Solidarity Expense	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54913 Editor Stipend	0.00	400.00	-400.00	0.00%
54916 Gifts to Contributors	0.00	350.00	-350.00	0.00%
54918 Website Maintenance	0.00	48.00	-48.00	0.00%
Total 54911 Solidarity Expense	\$0.00	\$698.00	-\$698.00	0.00%
54920 Literature Committee	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54922 Printing - Lit Committee TFW Materials	300.00	300.00	0.00	100.00%
Total 54920 Literature Committee	\$300.00	\$300.00	\$0.00	100.00%
5499 TWCOC	0.00	0.00	0.00	
54991 Mailings and Postage	2,336.36	2,118.00	218.36	110.31%
54992 Technology Infrastructure	547.08	450.00	97.08	77.31%
54993 Conference Funds	0.00	3,150.00	-3,150.00	0.00%
54994 Lorenzo Kom'bo Ervin Experience Travel	0.00	3,000.00	-3,000.00	0.00%
Fund				
54995 Printing and Literature	3,843.54	4,000.00	-1,656.44	88.39%
54997 Office	7,288.00	7,288.00	0.00	100.00%
Total 5499 TWCOC	\$11,211.70	\$11,288.00	-\$76.30	91.34%
Total 5400 Committee Expense	\$145,178.09	\$230,244.00	-\$85,065.91	71.74%
5900 Misc expense	7,240.74	0.00	7,240.74	0.00%
5912 GDC General Travel Expense	0.00	300.00	-300.00	0.00%
5920 Moving expenses	4,177.19	1,000.00	3,177.19	417.72%
5930 Misc expense - Other	9,500.04	0.00	9,500.04	0.00%
Total 5900 Misc expense	\$20,917.99	\$1,300.00	\$19,617.99	1609.08%
QuickBooks Payments Fee	1,326.49	0.00	1,326.49	
Total Expenses	\$355,743.50	\$563,614.00	-\$207,870.50	98.60%
Net Operating Income	\$181,199.46	\$90,714.00	\$90,485.46	199.73%
Other Expenses				
5197 Remittance to Branches	0.00	0.00	0.00	
51971 Initiation Subminimum	75.60	19,067.00	-19,011.40	0.40%
51972 Initiation Minimum	217.80	0.00	217.80	
51973 Initiation Regular	319.00	0.00	319.00	
51974 Initiation Maximum	462.00	0.00	462.00	
51975 Subminimum Dues	461.80	10,773.00	-10,171.20	8.59%
51976 Minimum Dues	1,414.60	26,324.00	-24,909.40	4.23%
51977 Regular Dues	1,511.40	37,503.00	-35,991.60	4.03%
51978 Maximum Dues	1,390.60	45,030.00	-43,639.40	3.33%
Total 5197 Remittance to Branches	\$6,192.80	\$136,616.00	-\$130,423.20	4.47%
51979 ROC Per Cap	0.00	1,402.00	-1,402.00	0.00%
Total Other Expenses	\$6,192.80	\$140,018.00	-\$133,825.20	4.42%
Net Other Income	-\$6,192.80	-\$140,018.00	\$133,825.20	4.42%
Net Income	\$175,006.66	-\$49,304.00	\$224,310.66	-354.95%

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## General Headquarters Profit and Loss June 2021

GHQ Profit and Loss	Total
Income	
4100 Dues	
4110 Initiatives	3,242.18
4120 Dues Income - Men	491.68
4130 Dues Income - Men	3,508.89
4140 Dues Income - Men	4,343.79
4150 Dues Income - Sub	1,064.94
Total 4100 Dues	\$13,471.48
4300 IW	
4310 IW Press Assessments	1.00
Total 4300 IW	\$1.00
4600 General Administration Income	
4610 Membership supplies to Branch	1.00
Total 4600 General Administration Income	\$1.00
4900 Other Income Sources	
4910 Donations to TFW	\$99.00
4920 Interest	\$7.20
4940 Discharged Branch Funds	\$72.89
Total 4900 Other Income Sources	\$179.09
Services	
Total Income	\$15,272.57
Gross Profit	\$15,272.57
Expenses	
5100 GHQ expenses	
5110 Labor costs	
5111 GFT Wages	3,708.53
5112 Other GHQ Staff	4,534.49
5113 GFT Benefits	3,182.14
5114 Payroll Taxes	3,182.14
5115 Professional Services	145.36
5117 Staff Benefits	1,047.94
Total 5110 Labor costs	\$13,697.20
5120 Rent and Facilities	
5121 Utilities	\$47.08
5122 Admin phone/fax/email	236.37
5123 GFT personal phone stipend	30.00
5127 Physical Plant	77.75
5128 Insurance	167.06
Total 5120 Rent and Facilities	\$948.26
5130 Supplies	
5131 Office Supplies	157.00
5132 Membership Supplies	30.87
5133 Paper and Printing Supplies	135.59
Total 5130 Supplies	\$323.46
5140 Postage Accounts	
5141 Admin Postage	\$304.84
Total 5140 Postage Accounts	\$304.84
5150 Equipment and Repairs	
5151 Copier Lease	931.99
5153 Office Equipment	472.66
Total 5150 Equipment and Repairs	\$1,404.65
5160 Bank charges	
5161 International Conversion	94.02
5163 PayPal/Stripe Fees	4,118.73
5164 Money Wire Fees	135.00
Total 5160 Bank charges	\$4,347.75
5190 Other GHQ expenses	
5191 Legal Expenses	12.00
5192 Software Subscriptions	148.77
Total 5190 Other GHQ expenses	\$160.77
Total 5100 GHQ expenses	\$23,330.61
5300 IW Expense	
5390 Other IW Expense	37.18
Total 5300 IW Expense	\$37.18
5400 Committee Expenses	
5410 OD	
5411 Organizing Department Board	
5412 Campaign Support	10,455.00
5413 GDC Stipend	3,078.81
5414 Admin Support	371.46
5415 Organizing Dept Board	2,800.00
Total 5410 Organizing Campaign	\$16,705.27

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## General Headquarters Balance Sheet - As of June 30th 2021

GHQ Balance Sheet	Total
ASSETS	
Current Assets	
Bank Accounts	
1011 PayPal	6,383.66
1012 PayPal CAD	65.65
1013 PayPal (Old IAC)	503.92
1014 TWCOC PayPal	989.58
1015 CHASE Checking	245,817.34
1016 CHASE Savings	143,393.83
1017 USPS Bulk Mail Permit 2835	120.11
1018 Amalgamated of Chicago 13M CD 5473	70,893.33
1019 Amalgamated of Chicago 14M CD 5475	15,199.83
1020 Amalgamated of Chicago 15M CD 5474	15,138.67
1021 Amalgamated of Chicago 13M CD 5487	30,372.94
1022 Amalgamated of New York NM	245,470.13
1023 Amalgamated of New York ICS	110,138.04
1030 Petty Cash	69.78
Total Bank Accounts	\$982,379.36
Accounts Receivable	
1800 GHQ Accounts Receivable	\$5,371.54
Accounts Receivable (A/R) - CAD	0.00
Total Accounts Receivable	\$5,371.54
Other Current Assets	
1110 Inventory - Lit Dept.	7,018.77
1120 Loan	
1130 - 2 Loans - NY GMB	0.00
Total 1130 Loan	\$0.00
1200 Undeposited Funds	4,744.38
9000 Due from Literature Department	0.00
9010 Payroll Expenses	-19,700.00
9011 LD Liens Wages	\$1,402.06
9012 LD Payroll Taxes	7,289.95
9013 LD Professional Services	0.00
Total 9010 Payroll Expenses	\$81,092.01
9015 Due from Lit Dept Motion DA-	0.00
9020 Literature Department Postage	0.00
9200 LD Assets to GHQ	0.00
Total 9000 Due from Literature Department	\$81,092.01
Total Other Current Assets	\$42,877.24
Total Current Assets	\$1,030,827.94
Other Assets	
1130 Office Rental Security Deposit	7,100.00
Total Other Assets	\$7,100.00
TOTAL ASSETS	\$1,037,927.94
LIABILITIES AND EQUITY	
Liabilities	
Current Liabilities	
Accounts Payable	
2000 Accounts Payable	10,417.40
Total Accounts Payable	\$10,417.40
Other Current Liabilities	
2001 Prepayments	5.00
4000 Due to Branches/Liability Bodies	0.00
2210 GDC	0.00
2242 Twin Cities Funds	0.00
2243 Austin TFW Funds	0.00
2244 Boston GMB Funds	3,633.08
2300 Albuquerque GMB Funds	401.30
2301 Atlanta GMB Funds	4,610.40
2302 Baltimore GMB Funds	1,048.80
2303 Bay Area GMB Funds	4,929.69
2304 Central Florida GMB Funds	2,133.00
2306 Central New Jersey GMB Funds	739.20
2306 Central Oklahoma GMB Funds	958.40
2307 Connecticut GMB Funds	1,080.60
2308 Denver GMB Funds	3,293.20
2309 Detroit GMB Funds	2,306.00
2310 Edmondson GMB Funds	832.89
2311 Everett GMB Funds	3,708.00
2312 Fairbanks GMB Funds	19.80
2313 Galesville GMB Funds	436.20
2314 Grand Rapids GMB Funds	619.30
2315 Greater Chicago GMB Funds	6,820.20
2316 Greater Kansas City GMB Funds	2,525.40

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GHQ Profit and Loss	Total	GHQ Balance Sheet	Total
54111 ODB Member Travel		2317 Green Country GMB Funds	1,191.80
54111 Travel to ODB Annual Meeting	91.48	2318 Huntsville GMB Funds	625.30
Total 54111 ODB Member Travel	891.48	2319 Leno County GMB Funds	411.60
Total 54111 Organizing Department Board	816,994.79	2320 Low Angeles GMB Funds	3,208.40
54111 Organizing Training Committee		2321 Madison GMB Funds	960.40
54111 101 Trainings	-36.15	2322 Maple City GMB	577.30
54111 Translations of Organizer Trainings Material	2,358.80	2323 Mid-Valley GMB Funds	340.00
Total 54111 Organizing Training Committee	82,332.67	2324 Milwaukee GMB Funds	1,668.60
Total 5410 OD	819,137.42	2325 Minnesota GMB Funds	1,497.40
5414 Education Department Board		2327 New York City GMB Funds	4,191.90
54142 General/Admin	1,473.95	2328 NYC IUB 450 Funds	1,007.80
Total 5414 Education Department Board	81,473.95	2329 Northwest Ohio GMB Funds	2,261.40
5415 Communications Department		2330 Northern New Jersey Funds	600.00
54151 Labor Costs		2331 Ohio Valley GMB Funds	1,437.80
54151 CDB Staff Wage	7,076.77	2332 Olympia GMB Funds	340.20
54151 CDB Staff Payroll Taxes	1,101.11	2333 Philadelphia GMB Funds	2,428.40
Total 54151 Labor Costs	86,177.88	2334 Phoenix GMB Funds	1,176.00
54152 Travel/Phone	1,687.60	2335 Pittsburgh GMB Funds	1,194.80
Total 5415 Communications Department	88,865.48	2336 Portland GMB Funds	5,001.80
5450 IAC		2337 Providence GMB Funds	460.60
5451 Website Hosting Fee	182.36	2338 Richmond GMB Funds	827.40
5451 Website Tech Contract	1,591.80	2339 San Diego GMB Funds	702.00
5458 Misc. Services	459.00	2340 SCEWL IUB 620 Funds	261.00
Total 5450 IAC	82,232.76	2341 Santa Fe GMB Funds	283.20
5470 GEC Expense		2342 Seattle GMB Funds	3,054.80
5473 GEC Stipend	350.00	2343 SEDM IUB 630 Funds	420.00
Total 5470 GEC Expense	830.00	2344 Southern Maine GMB Funds	837.60
5499 IWOC		2345 Spokane GMB Funds	1,704.60
54991 Mailings and Postage	1,431.13	2346 Starburst IUB 630-640	256.10
54992 Technology Infrastructure	35.90	2347 Tacoma GMB Funds	1,000.30
54993 Printing and Literature	1,070.77	2348 Tampa Bay GMB Funds	404.30
54997 Office	4,173.64	2349 Tennessee GMB Funds	140.40
Total 5499 IWOC	86,911.53	2350 Tucson GMB Funds	418.80
Total 5400 Committee Expenses	836,061.14	2351 Upstate NY GMB Funds	431.60
QuickBooks Payments Fee	109.20	2352 Vancouver Island GMB Funds	1,834.39
Total Expenses	861,438.33	2353 Tucson GMB Funds	418.80
Net Operating Income	-846,165.56	2354 Washington DC GMB Funds	2,409.40
Other Expenses		2355 West Virginia GMB Funds	1,168.30
Unrealized Gain, or Loss	0.00	2356 Whatcom-Sleight GMB Funds	461.20
Total Other Expenses	60.00	2357 Tyrellanti GMB Funds	1,295.40
Net Other Income	60.00	2358 CanROC Funds	21,254.58
Net Income	-846,165.56	2359 Rochester GMB Funds	517.40
		2360 Red River GMB Funds	434.20
		2361 Houston GMB Funds	653.80
		2362 Sacramento GMB Funds	978.60
		2363 Worcester GMB Funds	374.40
		2364 Amherst IUB 650 Funds	138.60
		2365 New River GMB Funds	33.00
		2366 Salt Lake GMB Funds	376.20
		Total 4000 Due to Branches/Liability	8113,477.48
		4001 Due to Committees and Campaigns	
		2220 ISC	1,444.07
		2221 Palestine Delegation	6.00
		2222 NGWY	33.95
		2223 B.D.A. Campaign	25.00
		2224 Metal Works Union of S. Africa	50.00
		2225 HK Dockworkers	0.00
		2226 VIONEX Greece Working Class	0.00
		2227 FAT ISC assessments	100.00
		Total 2280 ISC	81,879.02
		2228 Second Staff Campaign	997.28
		2230 Organizing Fund	5,648.93
		2231 Organizing Summit Fundraising	0.00
		2232 CapTel Strike Fund	6,950.00
		2233 OTC Assessments	1,871.58
		2235 JRWU Funds	1,046.02

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GHQ Balance Sheet	Total
2236 JRWU Midwest Camp Funds	1,806.30
2237 SW/WH Union #415 Funds	313.30
2238 Sitones Fund	4,804.84
2240 Safe Fund	2,790.19
2241 Dill Pickle Legal Funds	2,000.00
2245 Dill Pickle Incidentals	276.32
2246 TWIG Funds	1,250.00
2247 IWOC Funds	65,158.33
22471 Expiensor Hardship Fund	1,000.00
22472 Expiensor Travel Fund	1,000.00
22473 Prisoner Strike/Organizing	1,000.00
Total 2247 IWOC Funds	69,158.33
2249 Solidarity Funds	210.00
2250 IU Drives	
2253 CWOC	0.00
Total 2250 IU Drives	80.00
2259 JRWU Midwest Committee	1,000.00
2260 IWFW.org Administrative Fund	1,560.45
2263 GEC Mediation Fund	20,000.00
2264 Emergency Referendum Fund	10,000.00
2266 Unemployed Workers Organizing Program	30,000.00
2280 Work Peoples College Fund	0.00
Total 4001 Due to Committees and Campaigns	5161,034.37
90200 Literature Department Transfers	0.00
9500 Due to Literature Department	-98.14
Total Other Current Liabilities	
Total Current Liabilities	
Total Liabilities	
Equity	
3000 Opening Bal Equity	
3150 Temp. Restricted Net Assets	
3200 Unrestricted Net Assets	
3900 Retained Earnings	
9100 Funds Transferred to LD	
Net Income	
Total Equity	
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND EQUITY	

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Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
**PAID**  
Chicago, IL  
Permit No. 2525

Return Service Requested

Enrique Alarcon #1042073

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Brazoria County District Attorney:

Tom Selleck,

C/o: Courthouse Room # 102,

(279) 388-1230,

Brazoria County Courthouse,

111 East Locust Street,

Angleton, Texas 77515

Sheriff Bo Stallman,

Brazoria County Sheriff's Department:

3602 County Road - 45,

Angleton, Texas 77515

979-849-2441

Encl: #6

CYNTHIA BRIDGES  
TO ALERT WHISTLE BLOWER

RCVD. THE FINAL STRAW RADIO  
@ RISEUP.NET / INTERVIEW w/  
COMRADE Z  
THEN CALLED "TDC" AND